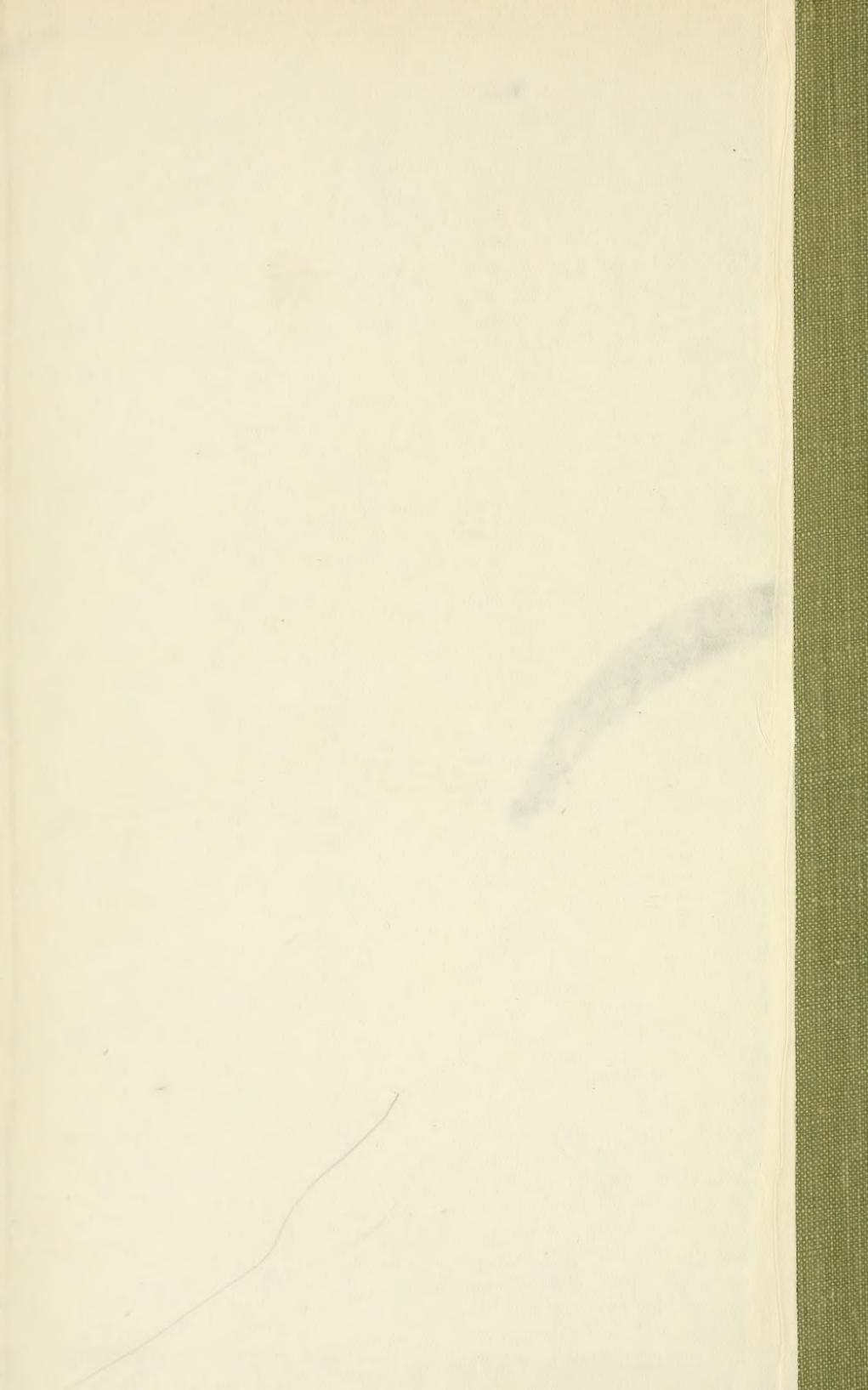


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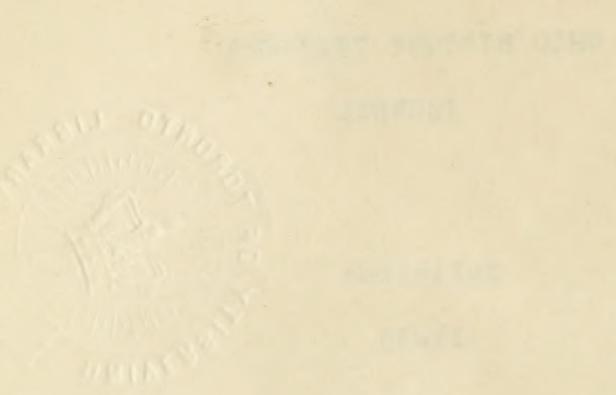
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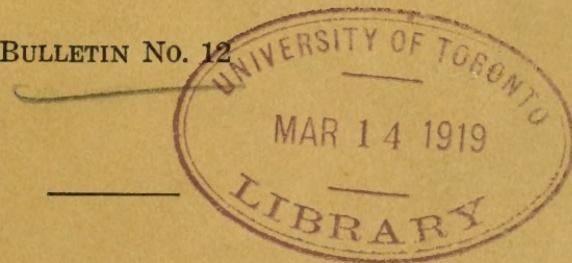
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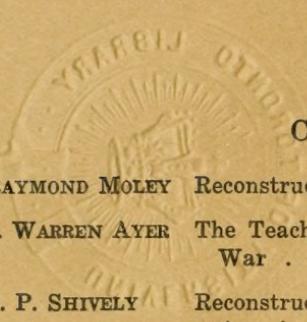
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RECONSTRUCTION IN CIVIC EDUCATION
PRINCIPAL WEAKNESSES OF FRESHMEN IN HISTORY

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY AT COLUMBUS

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Issued in January, March, May, and November.

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JANUARY, 1919

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RECONSTRUCTION IN CIVIC EDUCATION

By RAYMOND MOLEY

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Western Reserve University, and Director of Americanization, Ohio Branch, Council of National Defense.

It has been remarked that should all life in America suddenly become extinct and in after centuries curious scholars come to search among the ruins for knowledge of American civilization, there would be little in the remains of things educational to indicate that we are a self-governing people. Direct efforts to train the growing citizen in the great art of self-government have been pathetically inadequate, not to say worthless. The study of civics in schools, born and nourished in legalistic latter-day Victorianism, grew to maturity only to have its place in education taken by what is sometimes called "socialized" civics, more commonly "community" civics. Neither type of training men and women in the making would indicate that America has developed a system of preparing for the rigours of democracy. Neither furnishes that stuff of which free men are made.

Most of us are all too familiar with the civics of a generation ago. Our memories easily carry us back to its dry formalism, its arid legalism and its narrow field of interest. It was the application of the political theories of the period following the Civil War when government was regarded as little more than an instrument for the protection of the economic interests of a small class of Americans. The federal power was given to promotion and protection, western states were everywhere losing struggles with monopolistic corporations and local government was ineffective and usually corrupt. The opinion was widely held that government should keep as far removed as possible from the concerns of daily life. Civics were of course colored by the political life of the time.

In the texts of that time the constitution was literally studied word for word. The machinery of government was of primary concern, state and local affairs were largely neglected and the social interests of the public were not considered at all. No suggestion of the practical application of the lessons learned was made and teachers saw little relation of their work to the development of useful citizenship. There can be slight wonder that civics of this type had no popularity and almost negligible influence upon the political life of the times.

It is scarcely necessary to add that such a type of instruction brought about a most marked reaction. About ten years ago a "new" civics arose which represents a protest against the excesses of the old. The machinery of government was relegated to the rear. National government was studied last and least and a great emphasis

was placed upon the functions of government. Hygiene took the place of anatomy.

The most important characteristics of "community" civics are the following:

1. The order of treatment begins with the more intimate social concerns of the citizen. In some texts the family is presented first. This is probably based upon the assumption that the family is the simplest as well as the primary social unit.
2. The dominant idea which is presented is that of "community" action. The pupil is to form his idea of the meaning of "community" from the local neighborhood and after a long treatment of neighborhood housekeeping he applies the same magic term "community" to the larger social units of city, state, nation and world.
3. Overwhelming attention is given to local concerns. The nation is treated in a few crowded pages at the end of the book, while many chapters are given to petty community affairs. For example, in a recent text for junior high schools, one chapter out of twenty-one is given to national government, or thirteen pages of a total of two hundred and four. More space is given to a picture of a notorious but powerful political boss casting his ballot than to the description of the Congress of the United States. Twenty-seven lines are given to mosquitoes while the presidency of the United States is accorded fifteen. Another text of this type, containing in all two hundred and thirty-eight pages, gives ten pages to the nation. The same text gives more space to the preservation of trees than to municipal ownership and more pages to charity than to self-government.
4. A sense of obligation to the community is set forth as the sum total of civic virtue. The preface of one of these books states that the author has two questions in mind:
 1. "What is the community doing for the citizen?"
 2. "What does the citizen owe to the community?"
5. Few if any controversial subjects are introduced. All of the facts are set forth with a quiet finality which carries the intimation that government is once and for all time fixed—like the stratification in geological specimens. One would never suspect in reading these texts that there are affairs in government upon which honest men may differ.
6. In the main, "community" civics is intended as a contribution to the curriculum of the junior high school. In fact its exponents insist that controversial material shall not be introduced into the junior high school. All debate is reserved for the civics of the senior high school. "Biologically," says one of the advocates of socialized civics, "the child in the grades is not able to deal with controversial material."

There can be little question but certain tendencies represented by "community" civics are most wholesome. The study of government should be a most human undertaking, the functions of government should be given much space and practical application to life should be made at every opportunity. But "community" civics represents an extreme reaction which has most serious possibilities. It practically means the displacement of the study of government in favor of a diluted, enervating type of social economy. A poor fare for the nourishment of the stalwart, resourceful citizen.

The chief weaknesses of "community" civics may be summarized as follows:

1. Any competent sociologist will deny that the family is the simplest group in social life. A treatment of the extremely complicated problems of the family life must be reserved for more advanced students. Moreover, it is absurd to advance the excuse that the family relations are analogous to the political relations of a citizen in a modern democracy. The king-father theory of the state departed this life many generations ago and the divine right theory has since been rejected.
2. The application of the idea of "community" to all political units is theoretically a desirable accomplishment. But the term has been used so long to describe the immediate locality that it may be doubted whether it is immediately possible to shake off this former connotation. And why have the terms "state, nation and country" lost their usefulness?
3. The war has brought home to every American the great significance of the federal power. The national government emerges from the upheaval of war enormously strengthened. All political and economic life tends to become national in scope. Why then reduce the space given to the Federal government to a maximum of 5% or 10% of the course?
4. We need a citizenship not only orderly and obedient but resolute and assertive of its just rights. To say that the citizen should be taught only his obligations is to say that he should be trained in the habits of a slave. We must not forget that countless lives have been given that there might be placed in our constitutions the provisions which protect the lives and rights of individuals. We must not forget that these dearly bought protections will become as obsolete as the laws of Solon without the support of a strong citizenship ready to uphold and to enforce the rights of the individual.
5. Practice in the arts of controversy should be included in the training of every citizen in a democracy. Those nations which have allowed freedom of discussion have been more tumultuous but most stable. The world shakes with revolutions in Russia, Germany and Austria but England, France and the United States stand firm. It may be granted that the pupil of junior high school age is

rather immature for a consideration of controversial questions. Undoubtedly he is much better able to take part in debate at seventeen than at thirteen. But the children of the working class for the most part never enter high school. The relentless economic law which makes the junior high school the school of the working class should override the "biological" objection to introducing political problems at an early age. If we teach obedience to junior high school pupils alone and teach senior high school pupils the arts of controversy we are doing nothing less than introducing a vicious class system of education. We are undermining the very foundation of our democracy.

In May, 1914, before the menace of the Prussian system of education had become apparent to most people, an American commercial journal gave an account of the civic education given the Berlin school for boys, "not in skilled occupations." The journal commended this German course of study very highly, remarking incidentally that "it keeps close to the personal, local and daily interest of the pupils." This course of study extends over three years, the title of the first division being "The young workman and his personal circumstances." The second, "The young workman in his employment," and the third, "Workmen in the community." The first and second years cover the following general topics: entry into the industrial world, place in the new community, hygiene, insurance, the work shop, wages, legal position, and the meaning of work. The third year, because of its similarity to the new American "community" civics deserves quotation in full:

"THE WORKMAN IN THE COMMUNITY

- "A. Knowledge in respect to the social and civic relationships.
 - "1. The workman in the family.
 - a. The family as basis for morality and well-being.
 - b. The care of the parents for a livelihood and dwelling. Thrifty management and insurance.
 - c. The most important facts in connection with the parental authority and the necessity to provide for maintenance. Inheritance and wills. Guardianship and education provided by a trustee. Duties of children.
 - "2. The workman as member of clubs and unions.
 - a. Association, e. g., rent and building society, savings and lending banks.
 - b. Trade associations.
 - c. Educational and social clubs.
 - "3. The workman as member of the municipality for the well-being of the citizens.
 - a. Public hygiene. Care of the poor and the orphans. Provisions for education. Taxes.

- b. The most important facts in connection with the administration.
 - c. The most important facts for obtaining residence in case of relief.
- "4. The workman as a citizen of the State.
- a. Concerning Imperial arrangements and Imperial authorities: The Emperor; The Federal Council; The Reichstag; Imperial revenues, Army and fleet.
 - b. Concerning State arrangements and State authorities: the King and Parliament; State revenue and justice."

This represents what a despotic ruling class, seeking a contented proletariat on one hand and domination of world trade on the other, devised for its future citizens. A ruling class needs a citizenship which knows the laws of health. It needs skilled workmen, and it should above all, surround its workers with decent local conditions. All of these things the German ruling class has provided. But knowledge of large national affairs, skill in the use of political methods for the attainment of economic ends are not given to the working class, for once it has secured these weapons, the days of a ruling class are numbered.

To teach "community" civics in the junior high school is to teach the working people of the country a political philosophy which takes from them the political skill necessary to the control of their own government and gives them in return the ability merely to keep their immediate community in good order. The German ruling class carefully planned and executed such a system with the result that a well-fed but politically incompetent ruling class stood for a long time with its back to the Rhine defending a political system which menaced the whole future of democracy. It may be truthfully said that the German government knew the value of "community" civics long before our own "community" educators began their work.

The advocates of "community" civics did not purposely forge a tool for the purpose of reaction. An attempt to induce wide acceptance of a sound principle and the desire for an extensive adoption of text books undoubtedly moved the writers to eliminate all the material which might arouse the objections of "standpat" members of school boards and timid superintendents. Of consequence, there evolved entirely innocuous texts and courses of study, which have been welcomed in the most "corrupt and contented" communities. The gospel of the innocent has become the conservative's bread of life.

It is hopeful to see in a number of more recent texts a tendency away from the excessive localism of "community" civics. Emphasis upon the practical has been maintained, while more space is given to the larger concerns of citizenship. Occasionally a well prepared question appears which is designed to provoke discussion and to invite a frank examination of the existing order.

If after this war, the United States is not to lag far behind France and England in the things that make for greater democracy, it behooves us to insist upon a virility in civic education which we have not yet attained. The teaching of citizenship must be practical. It must reach for illustrative material into the actual process of government. It must, moreover, lay great emphasis upon the political responsibilities of the citizen for the government under which he lives. It must not minimize the constitutional rights of the common man, often seriously limited during the stress of war.

Enlightened modern educations teach us to "take chances with children." They tell us that children, as well as men and women, have capacities which timid conservatism cannot and will not comprehend. This view is as old as the world, but its reiteration in the light of modern science is welcome indeed to those who look for change. It should not be forgotten by the men and women who teach children the elements of popular government, for the life blood of democracy is the questioning of things as they are.

Democracy has been saved from its most deadly enemy but it has by no means assured itself of eternal life. It must learn through infinite labor the difficult art of self-government. The future citizen must have power of political discrimination far beyond that which he needed in the past. Civics must play a great part in developing this political skill in the citizens of the future. We must therefore develop a type of civic education which will meet these exacting needs. It may not be too early to plan for this reconstruction in citizenship teaching, both in content and method.

It seems to me that among the considerations that should guide in the determination of courses in citizenship the following are worthy of note:

AS TO CONTENT

1. An increased emphasis should be placed upon the newer functions of the federal government; railway administration, control over labor conditions and the process of employment, regulation of the supply of food and fuel, the federal reserve system and rural credits.
2. A fair and frank discussion of the relations of capital and labor, should be included in every civics course. Very sharp divisions of opinion will arise in this respect. The pupils come from homes of all kinds, their ideas are largely formed at home and often these ideas are highly colored with prejudice. A skillful teacher may without involving his own opinions draw out and direct a discussion of widely varying points of view and do much toward reconciling antagonistic interests. The surest way of making the economic conflict of the future unspeakably bitter and destructive is to prevent in the public schools a presentation of varying points

of view. If young citizens are given an opportunity in years when their minds have not been hardened by class interests to understand the points of view of others, there is sure to be more sympathy between classes in the future than in the past. The labor unionist who in his youth knew and respected a boy of the "capitalist" group can never feel quite the same toward his employers. The same can be said with equal truth of the employer himself. Any policy of repression and timidity on the part of school men is sure to intensify and make more bitter the politics of the years to come.

3. Civics should in the future give large part to economic facts such as taxation, the budget system and price regulation. Here again free discussion should be allowed.
4. Consideration should be given to reforms in election laws, administrative organizations and in the representative system.
5. The new world order should be considered. Narrow self-complacency is often mistaken for patriotism. The real patriot of the future will have not only a wholesome love of his own country but a respect for and an understanding of the contributions of all nations.
6. Political parties and their principles should be studied and applied. This of course, can be done by the skillful teacher, without involving himself in partisan controversy.

AS TO METHODS

1. More opportunity for self-determination in the recitation content should be allowed. The pupils can often build up from their own experience the subject matter of very interesting lessons.
2. There should be more practice in the art of debating than at present. It is a most unfortunate thing that debating which played such a large part in the development of statesmen of the past generations should now be so rarely found in American schools. It should consist of practice in the art of speaking extemporaneously for all of the pupils of the school rather than for a small group who contest with other schools. It is a fact that we should regret that in most of our large cities debating in high schools has almost passed out of existence.
3. The practice of government should be carried out in the school itself. Nothing more wholesome has developed in recent years than the idea of a school republic. Self-government of pupils in schools is the best preparation for self-government of citizens in a republic.

Recent events indicate very clearly that the middle class in America, which has long been the dominating group of the nation and the group which has very largely contributed to the development of our democracy, is to have its leadership very sharply challenged by leaders

of industrial workers in the great cities. Among these latter may be included a large number of socialistic agitators skilled in debate, versed in economic and political philosophy, who already are exerting unquestioned influence. The impending danger of Bolshevism may be met in two ways: by developing among the American middle class increased political capacity and by introducing more and more self-government in industry. It is easy to see that both of these ends may be met, by the liberation through our educational processes of the creative political instincts of our children. And nowhere in the curriculum does the opportunity so present itself for this end as in the teaching of civics.

THE TEACHING OF EUROPEAN HISTORY AFTER THE WAR

By J. WARREN AYER

Madisonville High School, Cincinnati

With the restoration of peace every one is asking: "What will be the situation in my line of work after the war?" "Will conditions in my business ever become normal again?" Yes, we believe that conditions will become normal, which means that they will be quite different from what they were before the great struggle. The greatest problem of adaptation and readjustment in the history of the race presents itself to us to-day, and we the teachers of young America shall need every bit of wisdom, insight and tact at our command if we are to discharge satisfactorily our duties to the young citizens of our country in regard to this great work of adaptation to the new conditions of mental, moral, industrial and political life, growing out of Democracy's supreme sacrifice and glorious victory. We must all realize that the ability of the entire human race to adjust itself to new conditions will be taxed to the uttermost, and should any considerable part of the people of western Europe fail in this, a greater catastrophe will stare us in the face than that through which we have just been passing.

Already rumors of the cancellation of large war orders have brought consternation to the minds of some manufacturers and workmen. The great majority of our people, however, are prepared to face the future difficulties growing out of the war with the same grim determination and unfaltering confidence in American institutions and the American government that have enabled them so quickly to become a determining factor in democracy's war for freedom. American historians have long talked of world citizenship, now the American people have it thrust upon them and must immediately accept the responsibilities of that term in their entirety. How shall they understand their relations to their European neighbors unless they have some knowledge of the struggles and labors through which those peoples have passed to reach the common ground upon which the whole civilized world now finds itself? Here is evident the duty of the teacher of history, especially the teacher of European history. Who can deny to that subject a prominent place in the curriculum of every secondary school of the land, as well as some consideration in the intermediate grades?

The most noticeable effect of the War on the teaching of European history should be an increased interest in that subject on the part of pupils, coupled with a place of greater prominence in the curricu-

lum. Of course we can not judge what will be the attitude of the pupil toward this study two years hence or five years from now by his present stimulated interest. When our armies shall have withdrawn from foreign soil and his relatives and friends in the service shall no longer draw his attention "over there," his curiosity to know about European peoples will naturally be lessened; also when the Great War becomes the task assigned, instead of the ever ready means for sidetracking the teacher from the work of the day, his enthusiasm for an intimate knowledge of it will in many cases be sadly wanting. Nevertheless, the new ties that shall henceforth bind us closely to our brothers in Europe can not but maintain a keen and healthy interest in the minds of our youth for the history, especially the later history of Western Europe. The events of the last four years have made necessary a complete readjustment to this subject on the part of the historian and the teacher. As in antiquity "all roads led to Rome," so must all the apparently divergent paths of late European history be traced to the new focusing point—the Great War. Its underlying causes must be made clear. The American youth must be made to see in it both the terrible consequences to innocent millions of the selfish ambition of autocracy, and the sublime and atoning sacrifice of honest men for the glorious ideals of democracy and justice. Do not suppose that the results of this war can be fixed by any signed treaty of peace; it is yet possible for humanity to lose the war in the large sense. Our larger part in the winning of the war shall be the instilling into the minds of the rising generation a determination to so shape events that the highest ideals for which we have fought shall be the actual outcome of humanity's tremendous sacrifice.

We must now recognize a new and inspirational central idea in European history. The marshaling of facts and their interpretation must center about the great fundamental ideal of world democracy, "the self-determination of intelligent peoples." Not the growth of individual nations, the building of colonial empires, or the establishment of commercial supremacies, but the advancement of world democracy must be made the basic topic in relation to which eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century history is to be studied.

The increasingly important part played by the socialists in the determination of the course of world history demands that the movement be studied in an organized and systematic manner. The term "Socialism" should be stripped of its cloak of vagueness, and an impartial evaluation of socialistic principles be made. We are now in better position than ever before to understand and explain its relationship to nineteenth and twentieth century European history. The World is moving more and more toward the public control of the means of production and exchange. This is undoubtedly a socialistic principle. Is it therefore to be feared and repressed, or should it be encouraged? That question will soon be put fairly to the citizens of America and the World, and how can our young men and women an-

swer it safely, unless they have a clear and unbiased knowledge of the political system of which it is one of the basic terms? The dangers of *class socialism* have been strikingly exemplified in the orgy of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, and we shall watch with keen interest the conduct of the more intelligent socialists of Germany in their present triumph. Whatever may be our individual attitude toward this growing economic and political system, socialism, national and international, is certain to play an important part during the period of political and economic reconstruction upon which we are now entering. Are you prepared to do your part in your history teaching in making clear its principles and in guarding against the certain disasters of class socialism. Please do not misunderstand me. I am not advocating the support or the combatting of socialism on the part of the teacher of European history, but am simply trying to impress upon you the necessity of its intelligent treatment in the class room.

One of the important causes of the French Revolution was the example of America's success, and the whole course of nineteenth century history in England and France was profoundly affected by the continued success of our great experiment in self government; nevertheless, for a century and a quarter the current of our political life remained almost completely separated from the great stream of events across the Atlantic. The critics said our institutions might stand the test under the favorable conditions existing in America, but that the principles of complete self government would quickly lead to disaster if tried among the widely differing peoples, and in the midst of the international turmoil of Western Europe. When, however, in ever increasing numbers peoples of all classes and from every nation under the sun came to our shores, accepted our institutions and found our government well suited to their needs, an increasing number of thinking men in all lands came to regard our government as a plausible model for the union of all men into a great international state or confederation.

Our sudden and all determining entrance into the most intimate affairs of European nations in 1917 has served to give the whole course of our history a new and increased importance in the study of our neighbors across the water. American institutions must be given more prominence in European history. Without any disposition to overwork the phrase let me say that we are "a chosen people," selected by environment and temperament to work out the great plan of World Democracy whereby all the peoples of the earth may achieve their political and economic salvation. With that gospel of eternal justice and unconquerable might America has crossed the Atlantic and the nations of Western Europe have gladly accepted every principle for which we stand. No longer will it be sufficient for the writer of a textbook of Modern history to devote one paragraph to the United States in connection with England's wars with France,

and another when discussing the French Revolution. America deserves prominent and individual treatment, and we believe she will get it.

America's past success has been largely due to her wholesome good fellowship with other peoples. To her strictly one price system of international dealing. Goods strictly as marked with no rebates to favorites, no secret contracts, and no special agreements has ever been the motto of her international diplomatic business. It seems to me that an organized effort should be made to present to our young people the subject of modern European diplomacy, with its intrigues and secret treaties, in such a way as to beget in them a genuine admiration for, and absolute confidence in our often ridiculed "shirt sleeve" diplomacy. Let us help them to understand the possible effect upon the rights of the people of the final adoption by all civilized nations of America's ridiculed method of allowing the whole World to know and understand her international business.

We have mentioned a number of phases of history that in our opinion ought to be given increased emphasis in consequence of the great events that have recently taken place and that are certain to ensue. Perhaps most of you agree in the main with these theses. "But," you say, "how shall we find time for this added work?" It would be desirable to have a minimum requirement of three years of history in the secondary school. That however does not at present seem feasible, so we must content ourselves with a readjustment of the course of instruction in Mediaeval and Modern history. If we will but examine our daily programs of past years in the light of recent events, we will I think find much that has lost its apparent importance. For example, the wearisome discussion of the conflict between church and state, and the long drawn out consideration of the later migrations of the nations. In general, there could be a material shortening of the time given to the study of the Mediaeval period, with a corresponding increase in emphasis on the events from the time of the French Revolution to the present time. Whatever objections may be raised to any proposed plan, be assured of one thing, we must give more attention to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the history of Western Europe.

And, finally, allow me to say that I hope there is not a teacher of history before me today whose chief aim in the work of instruction is the fixing in the minds of the pupils of the facts and events of history. The true purpose of history instruction is to bring before the pupil the struggles and achievements of individuals and nations in such a manner as to give them a broader and more sympathetic view of life. Never was a sympathetic understanding of other peoples so necessary as now. A consciousness of world-citizenship has dawned upon us over night. We must guard against a spirit of hatred for our recent enemies. Too often in the past have our writers and teachers of history "twisted the lion's tail" because it proved to be popular. The

great body of English men gladly admit that we fought their battles in 1776. With the proper fair-minded consideration of the history of the nations of Western Europe ere many years they will one and all admit that in the last Great War America helped the World to the realization of the supreme ideal of government: the unmolested self-determination of peoples and the brotherhood of nations.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE METHODS OF TEACHING AMERICAN HISTORY AFTER THE WAR

By C. P. SHIVELY

Springfield High School, Springfield

Before entering into the discussion of the subject which has been assigned to him the writer wishes to state that what he has to say consists more or less of a confession of those things which he feels he has neglected or failed to emphasize sufficiently in his past teaching of American History. Also let it be understood that he speaks from the standpoint of the high school teacher, and that he has in mind, for the most part, those students whose education ends with their graduation from high school. The latter view point is taken because the majority of high school graduates do not attend college, and because the repetition of a few things for those who attend college, will certainly not harm them.

Naturally one should be expected to bring into the discussion as the first point, the idea that we must teach more emphatically just what Americanism is, and what it ought to mean to every citizen to be an American, (meaning of course a citizen of the United States particularly.) One needs only to ask the student a few questions in order to ascertain just how little thought he has given to these things. Ask him for a definition of a nation, and he can give one for which most countries will serve as examples. He can explain why the French, for instance, have a national feeling, but to do the same for America, is for him a difficult problem. He then realizes that a long course must be pursued in order to obtain a very satisfactory answer. He has learned that America is a most peculiar nation, in that the factors which form the basis for its unity are not so apparent as are those of other nations, and demand serious attention.

The decided contrasts between the governments of the foreign nations and ours would more easily be recognized by the student of American History if more stress were placed upon that particular phase in the study of Modern History which deals with the question of national consciousness. I believe that our national unity is mainly the result of our form of government, and its perpetuation depends upon how well the principles of our government are carried out.

It would certainly be laborious to attempt to embody in this article very many of the things which should be stressed as being necessary in the teaching of Americanism. It is a subject which is now very popular, and new books bearing upon it are being printed every day. Two things, however, I believe ought to be always kept before the stu-

dent. In the first place all the world ought to understand hereafter that our country is open for the naturalization of only those persons who expect to be Americans in every crisis of the nation. No one should share in any degree the fruits of the sacrifices and the hardships of past and present Americans unless he measures up to that standard. Of course it is too idealistic to say that we ought not to have those who sympathize with the enemy when we are in war and on the right side, but let us have just such ideals toward which to strive.

In the second place, each student must be taught his responsibility as one who possesses more education than the average voter. Too many times students feel that if they are once educated, life to them will no longer be burdensome. In a Republic, which is the melting pot of the world and where one citizen's vote is worth as much as another's, educated persons must see to it that their weaker countrymen know why and for what things they vote before they cast their ballots. There are many such persons in the United States. Secretary Lane says we have five and one half millions of people who cannot read or write. One and one half millions of these are native born. The others are of many races. Here is where the experiment comes in. Can we fuse all these people of different nations into one new and different nation which is quite peculiar to them. If we fail in doing so, America fails. Up to this time Uncle Sam has been very successful in stirring his melting pot. At times the handle of the ladle has bent almost to the breaking point, but with a literary test now in force this process ought to become much easier. Many people regret that certain persons are permitted to vote, but that does not now do away with their vote. The only solution then is that all work to put those ignorant persons on the plane of the intelligent voter.

Another idea which we ought to convey to the student is that he must have an interest in the problems of our country. At least two mediums for creating such interest will be mentioned. The first is the study of current history. Let me not give the impression that class room work should be almost monopolized by such work as is the case in many instances. As a means to attain an end, however, and for the sake of the information which the student can obtain, a certain amount of time ought to be spent upon current history.

Another factor which can be, and is, used for the creation of interest in national problems is the political party. Not that one should necessarily adhere blindly to a political party for party's sake, although such thing is not without benefit; but that his careful study of the issues as put forth by all political parties will give him a keen insight into national problems. In fact, the great issues of the country are made to stand out through the opposition of the parties. No factor has been more awakening to the people of the country than its political parties. They have played a great part in the develop-

ment of our system of government. They have developed a true statesmanship. No greater means of giving expression to public opinion can be found. And lastly, no better agent has been found for the producing of national efficiency than that which is brought about through the constructive criticism which parties always have for the party which is in power.

To the students who are soon to come under our influence we must make very clear the difference between universal military training and preparedness on the one hand and militarism on the other. Universal training and democracy are not incompatible. Militarism and democracy are impossible in the same country. The aristocracy of militarism destroys the democratic features of universal responsibility for the protection of our country. War can be abolished only by the regeneration of the human mind. Such regeneration will have taken place only when those who shape the destiny of nations shall be entirely devoid of selfishness and lust for power. Until that time comes preparedness is a necessity, but militarism must be destroyed as readily as the spirit of selfishness and lust for power.

In order that the student may understand those things already mentioned, and many more problems, we must teach him to think and to think clearly. Trouble arises here for the teacher. It seems that young people do not think seriously until they are in the world for themselves, and the problems of their own destiny come up before them. And then more trouble arises when we consider the fact that in our future study of American History we must teach them to think internationally. Twice now in its comparatively short history the United States as a nation has stood out to the world as one of the greatest of the world powers. Not because of her power, but on account of the causes she has championed for the sake of the weaker nations. She is dealing now as never before in international affairs as one who keeps justice held high as a battle standard. Our boys are coming home as broad minded and progressive citizens whose thought will be upon the problems of the social evolution of the world society. They will have a spirit of international brotherhood. In the future, then, we must teach American History in such earnest fashion that the future citizens will think of the United States as a country whose hands reach around the world, and whose patriotism is based upon righteousness rather than upon might.

And now let us pass to that part of the subject which calls for the method to be used in the teaching of American History. Two things have already been said upon this particular part, namely, that all things could be clearly understood by the student if he would think, and that the most difficult thing in teaching is to get the student to think. I suppose there are as many different methods of teaching as there are teachers. Personally, I attempt to get the problem clearly

stated to the student, and then have him seek or follow the solution for the problem.

Many times the problems are so difficult that the student can only master the solution of others. At other times the problem is brought more seriously to his attention, if he is asked to give a solution. As an example of the latter I have in mind the study of the reconstruction period after the Civil War. A student will realize more—so I think—the problems of that time if he is asked what he would have done with the South after the ratification of the 14th amendment was refused. I am firmly convinced however, that all methods are successful with some students, while all methods fail with some students. The best I believe for all concerned is to have a class of bright, attentive, eager students and a live, interesting, well-informed teacher, and then for both parties to use the one sure method which is work, and work to the utmost.

PRINCIPAL WEAKNESSES OF FRESHMEN IN HISTORY WITH SOME CONSIDERATION OF THE REMEDY¹

By E. W. Dow

Professor of History, University of Michigan.

Among the students in our introductory course in history there are now and then those whose unsatisfactory work may be due to some physical ill: their pale face, or hollow chest, or languid air possibly accounts for their small achievement. At all events they are entitled to suspense of judgment, until some physician may have given them a fair chance with their fellows. Others, again, are simply mentally unable, their birthright of mind being—pathetic to say—but as a mess of pottage. No other diagnosis tells why one who has been at work on the middle ages for six or eight weeks should seem really puzzled when told that the Mediterranean was not the Holy See; or how a student who had been over the same course twice, and had really worked, could then write of the Arian-Athanasian controversy that “In the fourth century there were two great parties in the church, the Arryans and the Athenians, who differed on all subjects but one—they agreed that gesus was a son of god.” For such unables there can be no solace, save that which lies in the bliss of ignorance.

But if we eliminate these two weak classes,—the physically ill because they are provisionally negligible, the mentally unable because they are hopeless under any circumstances,—there remains with us a third group of defectives: those who are sufficiently endowed yet cannot utilize their latent power, persons who are really susceptible of education but whose minds and souls are not developed in any measure befitting their years. Just what percentage of those who elect our introductory course belong in this group it is impossible to state; but it is true that they are enough in quantity largely to determine the quality of the entire class. These are the students I have especially in view now. To set forth the principal defects, or weaknesses, they show may prove of service to those in charge of the work of the schools; since while what is said may contain little, or possibly nothing, that is new, nevertheless a plain statement of some conclusions drawn from several years' experience with college freshmen may focus attention upon certain deplorable characteristics of many of them which, it would seem, might be at least partly removed by improvement in the preparatory work.

¹ This article is reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club, 1905, in order to give it circulation among Ohio teachers of history.

Possibly the most fundamental weakness prevalent among such students is that they lack the habit of having accurate knowledge. I do not mean simply that they have no accurate knowledge on this or that question which may be propounded to them; any one may easily find himself in that condition. I mean rather that they are not accustomed to know much of anything in an accurate way; that it is not a habit with them really to know even that which they are willing to profess to know. At the end of a week's work on the Germanic invasions of the Roman Empire, they may not be able to give an exact account of a single step or event in the career of any one of the invading peoples, or know that the Huns were not Germans; and yet they may be quite ready to talk about the Visigoths or the Vandals for five or ten minutes. After laboring for some time over the reform movement that centered in the monastery of Cluny, they are likely to write not without fluency, about the reforms of Mr. Cluny. One of them—or possibly this person should be enrolled with the unables—has stated that "Islam was probably the first real man to think along the lines of Mohammed." Another recently gave out the remarkable information that "When we speak of the Slavs we mean the race or peoples that lived on the south shore of the Mediterranean. The Slavs were dreaded invaders and it was thought they were pretty strong. By the times of the crusaders they had gained some footing in Italy and Africa, and after the first crusade had started, they had taken a part in taking Syria as the ones did that stopped at the town opposite Syria." One special characteristic of the unscholarly youths who say such things is their apparent inability to get out of a sentence or paragraph what it really says. Have them read a paragraph or two on Justinian's codification of the Roman law, and supplement that with a half hour's explanation of just what Julian had Tribonian and his colleagues do; then several of them will be ready to tell you that Justinian was the *author* of the Roman law. Place before them a clear explanation, not a page in length, of the origin of the "Forged Decretals," and I hesitate to say how many will fail to see from it just what gap these documents were designed to fill.

It is not that such students are not interested, nor simply that they do not work enough. Under either of these conditions, the phenomena in question might be adequately accounted for without going further back than the University course in which they occur. Doubtless it will always be possible in the University as elsewhere to improve the treatment of this or that subject, so as to arouse greater interest and secure more effective work. But with the ways of treatment followed so far, such students are frequently profoundly interested; it is not uncommon for them to work much, and with enthusiasm. Their mental activity, however, is apt to take the form of discussion rather than knowledge. They will reason about the matter in hand, and consider with veritable avidity what might, could, would, or should

be; but at the same time they will avoid facts as they would poison. Sometimes they will seem all but to consider it an insult to be asked for definite, specific information. In sum, what many students of capable endowments are able actually to know, when they first come to us, and to tell to others so that they also may know it, is so little that it is hardly respectable. They need to talk but a moment before one is compelled to question how they have done their work in previous years, whether they have been trained to do much of anything thoroughly.

A second fundamental weakness among the students whom we are now considering is that they have too little ability to make use of facts, once they get possession of them. If perchance they learn definitely that there was a battle of Adrianople and exactly between whom and when it occurred, they are quite apt to know nothing of what led up to it, or to have no definite curiosity about what significance it had either for the Roman state or for the Visigoths. If they learn to spell Attila's name—I have known one student to spell it four different ways within five lines—and to know that after Attila's time the Huns achieved little in Europe, they still fail to ask, to say nothing of understanding, so simple a question as just how did the great leader's death affect the fortunes of his people? Or they will learn conclusions, make statements of greater or less generalization, and have not the slightest evidence for them. One of our hardest tasks is to develop in them a realizing sense that such a statement as "Charlemagne conquered much territory" demands in proof specific mentions of at least some of his conquests; and quite frequently it is a case of developing, not a realizing sense, but simply a mere acquaintance with that habit of mind which calls for proof. Such students will tell you that Philip Augustus greatly extended the royal possessions in France, and then if asked what evidence they have of Philip's success they will say, not that he gained Normandy and Maine, among other lands, but that they read it in a book. If asked what facts bear out their statement that Charles V of Germany acquired many regions by inheritance, they will possibly offer one or two irrelevant observations, sit down with an air of surprise that you should be so cruel, and tell their friends that you ask such funny things. Clearly the art of asking historical questions of facts—I do not mean asking them of documents primarily, but of the facts to which documents bear witness—this art is none too much cultivated in the circles in which many of our freshmen move before they come to us. And yet this art, practiced until it is a habit, is the indispensable means of making knowledge of facts worth while. Without it no one can attain the higher ends of the study of history. Without it no one can know in an understanding manner where we now are with our states, and literatures, and religions, and what not, and in what direction we are moving. Without it no one can ever cultivate, in any true sense, his judgment of cause and effect "as cause and effect take place in human affairs."

These, then, are the principal mental ailments our freshmen in history are heir to. If I mistake not, the other shortcomings they exhibit, such as poor spelling, slovenly writing, inadequate vocabulary, talking off the point, and the rest, would all but disappear were each student but sufficiently grounded in the habit of knowing his facts accurately and in the equally essential habit of putting them together in a manner to reveal something of their historical significance. Furthermore, after patient observation of their habitual shortcomings, after a conscious and persistent but none too successful endeavor to reduce their lapses in knowledge and understanding to what might seem normal frequency, especially after often all but sacrificing other aims in college work in order to fight the plague of inaccuracy, the instructors in History 1 and 2 at the University feel justified in the conclusion that at least a considerable share of the responsibility for such conditions rests with those who direct the work of the schools.

But if it be granted that improvement of the preparatory work would help much to remove the primary causes of our troubles, just how may we expect to secure that improvement? To begin with, in what measure should we depend for it upon better means with which to do our work? Certainly there has been in late years much improvement in the means for the study of history in the schools, and progress in this regard is still going on. Any teacher whose experience goes back over a decade, or even half a decade, knows that he has much less reason now than formerly to complain of the text-books. These aids have not only increased in number and kind, but as a rule are better in quality. Thanks to the combined labors of historical scholars, historical writers, and practical teachers, they are now numerous and varied enough to accommodate different grades of work and different tastes or local demands among teachers and schools. And with better text-books have come numerous other aids; appropriate collections of sources, teachers' guides, in some places special libraries for collateral reading, better maps, and illustrative pictures. Yet I, for one, am distrustful of expecting too much from our acquisition of better tools. To be sure we have right to think that, other things being equal, we can do better with modern machinery than with the antiquated mechanisms employed by a preceding generation. But after all, if we are to seek renewed strength primarily in improvements of the tools we employ, I am convinced that the fundamental weaknesses which now exist will always be showing themselves in undue proportion. We must look chiefly, I think, to the persons who are using the tools; to the printer rather than to his press. One can easily comprehend that the finest printing presses would not profit much in the hands of a Hottentot; but it seems just as true, though not quite as easy to see, that good text-books and plenty of collateral reading are of little avail in the employ of an unfit teacher. It seems to me as clear as day—and every one here will surely agree with this—that no one who is not himself imbued with

the spirit of accuracy and thoroughness can inspire such a spirit in the young. And in like manner, he who learns by rote, and has not the habit of inquiring into the significance of things, can never train others to ask of thoughts and of deeds and of events what led to them and what they in turn led to. So, better the tools as we may, in last resort, our salvation will depend on those who use them.

The truth is, indeed, that with all their recent improvement, the principal tools at our disposal,—that is, our text-books,—are of such character that the teacher in history has a greater measure of responsibility for what is to be done by pupils than has the teacher, if not in any other subject, certainly in most other subjects of the curriculum. The manuals in algebra and geometry hold between their own covers the matter which is counted essential for the subject and grade to which they apply. The first-year books in Greek, Latin, German, or French supply material that is definite—even graded—throughout, and they are adequate enough of themselves to give need only of a grammar besides. The manuals in physics and chemistry call for much supplementary work in the laboratory; but the principles they set forth are limited in number, are specially susceptible of definite statement, and by experiments may be actually seen, or touched, or smelled. The personal factor necessary in the successful teaching of a piece of literature can hardly be exaggerated; yet the Cicero, or Virgil, or Shakespeare that is read in class is fully printed out on the page that lies before both pupil and teacher. Our history textbooks, on the contrary, do not contain in any such clear and unmistakable form the matter that we ought to teach, and that our pupils ought to get. Whether they should or not, as a matter of fact they do not. I know of no one of them, at least in European history, that is written as history is best written. Not more than one of them so restricts the number of questions it treats that it has space always to set forth evidence as well as conclusions. Only rarely, not customarily, do they bring into the light reflected by broad statements the details of human life, the actual thoughts and deeds of the men in view. They are, even at their best, but guides, bearing somewhat the relation to history that histories of literature bear to literature. And unless the teacher who uses them is able to go to the history to which they guide, his pupils will have as much reason for execration as those unfortunates who are dragged or whipped through some Crutwell or Shaw,—without time and without a cup to drink from the springs that well along the course, just out of reach.

I run the risk, however, of merely expressing a commonplace if I only insist that the chief hope of a reasonably efficient remedy for the defects of our preparatory work lies with the teacher rather than with the book he uses. That is altogether fundamental, you may say, but quite evident. The fact is, it is like the golden rule, and other such principles set forth in the Bible; the rub comes not in knowing it but in applying it, not in accepting it but in seeing just how to live up

to it. Is there, then, some plain course to choose, which when sanely followed surely leads to increasing effectiveness in teaching? Is there some particular, definite aim, the faithful, wise pursuit of which will not only keep him who is teaching on the right road but insure at the same time that the pupils following after him arrive at a worthier goal than many of them reach now? These questions, I think, must have an affirmative answer, if we but recall that, in the last analysis, the processes which are fundamental in the teaching of history are first fundamental in the writing of history; just as the course of thought followed in teaching how to build houses, or bridges, or what not, should first prove safe in the actual building of such things; or just as the methods followed in classes in painting must first hold good in the making of pictures.

Now he who takes part in the writing of history is necessarily occupied in one or the other of two ways: he does something either upon the immense task of establishing facts or upon the still more immense task of treating in a historical way facts that are already established. If he has good principles, before he engages in putting facts together to reveal their connection and historical significance, he aims to know the facts he works with. Whether he establishes these facts himself, or accepts them as established by some one else, he endeavors to have with reference to any given matter, a clear, appreciative, objective knowledge of just what persons or people were concerned, just what was thought, or said, or done, and just when it happened. Not until he is thus equipped can he safely undertake to tell the true relations of things, the whences and whithers of the thoughts and acts he has in view. On the other hand, once he knows some facts it is incumbent upon him to try to interpret them historically, if he would gain the real fruit of the historian's work. He must go on to trace if he can what they grew out of and what they grew into; for in the measure that he stops with unrelated knowledge will his knowledge be of little power. But the point now is, are not they that are thus occupied,—they, namely, who actually practice the science and art of history,—are not they the persons whose principles and ways of work every teacher of history should have constantly in view? Are they not carrying on, in a manner to be the guides of others, those very processes which should be as paths of life in historical classes? Where indeed may the teacher of history better go to develop independent and trustworthy mental customs, to cultivate the scholarly habits of knowing things accurately and understandingly, than to the great school conducted by those who do historical work? I for one shall expect to see the work in history classes improve in about the proportion that those who direct those classes become real doers of historical work.

This doing of history to which I refer does not mean necessarily that we should all be trying to write a great book, like Mr. Green's *History of England*; nor that, on the other hand, fault of material or

equipment with which to do the big things, we should all turn to seeking out obscure facts, say of local history. Circumstances should determine what each of us should be doing. It may be that many of us should occupy ourselves all but solely in patient study of the models of the masters, as the art student who places his easel week after week before a Holbein or Rembrandt. Or possibly we should be gathering, from different quarters, already established facts upon some significant person, or idea, or condition, or event; with the purpose, after knowing such facts, of trying our hand at putting them together in a historical way: the tasks in this direction that may be undertaken with profit are, and doubtless always will be, innumerable. Possibly again, some of us should be spending considerable time in searching for facts yet unknown, with which to enrich the present store of knowledge. In any case, whatever our individual needs or tastes, would it not advantage each of us always to have in hand some definite bit of historical work? Thus we might constantly give to our activities as teachers not only trustworthy principles, but also the refreshment and vigor that come with exercise and creative effort.

In conclusion, if it be clear that our University freshmen show in their work in history that too many of them are weak in the scholarly habits of knowing accurately and understandingly, and if also it appear reasonable to attribute a considerable share of the responsibility for such weakness to those who direct the preparatory work, it still may seem that the remedy here advocated is so difficult and slow that to contemplate it is only discouraging. Slow it undoubtedly is. But the changes in human things that are strongest and have the longest life are not those we enact suddenly, but those that grow, those that we cultivate from one generation to another. Moreover, there are indications that the application of this remedy is already well begun among us. The schools insist more and more generally that the teacher in history shall be properly qualified for his work; the historical departments at the University have organized courses which give to undergraduates increased opportunity to get practical experience in doing historical work, and the elections in these courses are constantly increasing; some students remain in the University for a year or more of graduate work, others return for study after a few years; many teachers attend the summer sessions of the better universities; these phenomena, among others, mark a strengthening tendency among us to be ourselves expert in that science and art which we would impart to others. And I for my part refuse to be discouraged. I look rather with confidence toward the day when we all who are teaching history shall be first, in an appropriate sense of the phrase, doers of history.

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EUROPEAN PRECEDENTS FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By PROF. CLARENCE PERKINS

The Ohio State University

At the close of the Thirty Years' War (1648), the parties to the treaty of peace made a plan to combine and fight any state guilty of breaking the peace. Again in 1711 before the Treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain and Holland formed a league to attack any breaker of the impending peace. Again in 1815, after nearly twenty-five years of war, the great powers joined in a more complete pact to prevent any infraction of the longed-for peace. Now in 1919, after a war shorter in time but infinitely more terrible, a group of leading statesmen have determined to organize a League of Nations in order to prevent war. Considering the tremendous importance of the issue, it will be worth while to examine the European precedents for such a league.

The agreements of 1648 and 1711 were effective only for a time. There was no machinery to make them last. The plan of 1815 went further. It provided for meetings of rulers and their representatives at fixed periods to consult about their common interest and to maintain the peace. Instead of a number of rival states as before the French Revolution, there was now a federation controlled by the four great powers, Britain, Prussia, Russia and Austria, which later admitted France to membership. This self-created Congress of the Powers, under the lead of the Austrian diplomat Metternich, proceeded to regulate not only relations between states but also their internal affairs. In case there was any uprising against the governments set up by the Congress of Vienna, it was the duty of the nearest of the great powers to send soldiers thither and put it down. Peace was kept by force. France especially was distrusted as the fountain of revolutions and wars. As between the great powers, there was little risk of war because Metternich was clever enough to keep the greater rulers friendly.

This system has been commonly called the Holy Alliance, though the agreement of that name was actually nothing but a mystic statement of the brotherhood of kings and their determination to have no quarrels in the great king family. The really effective agreement was that of November 20, 1815.

The first congress after that of Vienna was held (1818) at Aix-la-Chappelle where the agreement to keep the peace was renewed and France admitted to membership. In 1820 and 1821 Metternich called other congresses to arrange for suppressing popular uprisings in Italy and Spain. Britain refused to co-operate in this interference

with the people's will. Nevertheless, the other powers agreed to send troops. The revolts against the unspeakably bad governments set up in 1815 were all put down by Austrian and French armies. Peace was kept, but such a peace!

The reaction reached its height in 1823. Then the British and American governments prevented any attempt to reconquer the Spanish colonies in America and so extend the Metternich system to these continents. The Revolutions of 1830 further checked it and by 1848 it was dead. The League of 1815 had failed. The fundamental cause was the utter injustice of the treaties of Vienna (1815). The failure to satisfy the just demands of the Germans, the Italians, and others for national unity, the refusal to give the people any share in their government, and the utter disregard of the popular will in drawing international boundaries made upheavals certain. No league could have stood on such foundations.

The next great international war, the Crimean War, was followed by a congress at Paris (1856). After drawing up a treaty of peace, the Congress agreed to abolish privateering, to make enemy's goods (except contraband of war) on a neutral ship and neutral goods except contraband on an enemy ship exempt from seizure, and that a blockade must be effective to be binding. The United States refused to sign on the ground that the agreement ought to have gone further. Nevertheless, it seemed to mark progress.

But Great Britain, France and Austria made at Paris a special treaty guaranteeing the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, its admission into the "Concert of Europe," and the giving up of all control over the internal affairs of Turkey. This agreement postponed the settlement of the Near Eastern Question and made its difficulties enormously greater. It was most ill-advised. The Congress of Paris can hardly be said to have done much to prevent future wars.

The next great European congress met in Berlin (1878) after the Russo-Turkish War. Russia had set up a strong Bulgaria, enlarged other Slavic Balkan states, and nearly driven the Turks from Europe. Jealousy and fear of Russia led the British government to take its stand against this just settlement. Under the leadership of Disraeli, the great powers forced Russia to allow this treaty to be annulled. The final settlement by the Congress of Berlin was very defective. Hosts of Christians were left under Turkish oppression and Austria was given control of Bosnia, a cruel injustice to Serbia. The Congress of Berlin did little to make peace permanent and much to cause later wars.

Since 1878 the so-called Concert of the Powers has functioned in the form of an international congress at Algeciras, Spain (1906). There in theory the Moroccan Question was settled, but practically it still remained a cause of international rivalry and bitter feeling. The Concert of the Powers has certainly not kept the peace. The set-

tlements made by its congresses have been dictated by national jealousy or selfishness, not by justice. Each state has reserved the right to do as it pleased. Valid laws could be made only by unanimous vote of the great powers. There has been no effective machinery for enforcing these laws. In short, the world needs far more than a series of international congresses to prevent war.

Twenty years ago another kind of step was taken. At the summons of the Tsar of Russia, representatives of 26 nations met at The Hague, Holland, to consider some way to limit the preparations of the various states for war. The German delegates blocked this; but a Permanent International Court was set up to settle international disputes. The Conference also made laws forbidding the use of certain inhuman devices in warfare (e.g., "dum-dum" bullets and asphyxiating gases).

In 1907 the Second Hague Conference met. Delegates from forty-four states were present. Rules were made for more humane conduct of war and an International Prize Court was established to decide on ownership of naval captures in war. The Conference urged the arbitration of all disputes, but it was noticeable that a series of wars followed.

Besides the futile European Congresses of the past hundred years, there are other precedents less pretentious and attempting to do less but succeeding far better. These have some definite form of permanent administration resembling the central government of a federal state.¹ There are three clear types of international administrative and executive organs which should be distinguished: (1) those with little or no power of control over the states, (2) those with real power over some especial condition within a state or states, and (3) those with real control over all the member states.

Of the first type there are hundreds of private associations and over thirty public and official international unions to provide some unified control of phases of international trade and commerce. Among them are the International Sanitary Union, the Union for the Protection of Industrial Property (i.e., patents and trade-marks), and the Universal Postal Union. The last is the best known of all.

Till 1863 international postal arrangements were made only between individual states, and rates were so very high and so complex that international correspondence was very difficult. A Postal Congress met in 1874 and formed an organization which became the Universal Postal Union, of which practically all civilized states of the world are members. A Postal Convention made in 1906 now regulates international postage. This fixed charges, made uniform rates, established rules for service, and arranged for arbitration to settle all disputes arising from the treaty. It also set up a permanent International Bureau which collects and publishes information, gives advice on

¹ The Concert of Europe never got beyond a series of general Congresses.

disputes, and acts as a clearing house for money matters. There is a Congress every five years or oftener to make revisions of the constitution. Here each state has one vote and a majority decides. The colonies of the great powers are also given votes. When a Congress meets, most of the important work is done in committees on which the great nations have had large representation. Hence, the great states have had influence in proportion to their size, in spite of the rule of "one state, one vote." After a majority has decided any measure, individual states may refuse to ratify the decision; but they do not, because membership in the Union is worth too much. Secession would not pay. Hence, in postal matters an international congress actually makes rules by majority vote, and the minority states yield.

The other numerous organizations with little power are very similar to the Postal Union, with permanent bureaus having little more than routine administrative power and Congresses. They have not developed such strong executive departments as would be needed in a modern League of Nations. Many of them require a unanimous vote to reach a decision. Experience has taught that on big issues it is extremely hard to secure unanimity. These unions cannot be held up, therefore, as examples of what a real League of Nations ought to be, but their number and success may inspire us with hope.

There are many examples of international organizations with large local powers. Among these are the International Sanitary Councils set up by treaty in 1892 to make rules for checking the spread of epidemic diseases. There were three, one for Constantinople, one for Alexandria, and one for Tangier. They supervise quarantine service and see to the observance of proper sanitary obligations which the governments of these cities would probably neglect. In these councils decisions are by majority vote. An International Bureau at Paris gathers information and does routine work.

Most important and successful of this type of organization is the European Danube Commission. Navigation of the lower Danube had grown very dangerous and expensive. The river mouths had been allowed to fill up. This interfered greatly with the commerce of Austria and Great Britain, as well as Roumania and other states. In 1856 Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey joined in forming an "European Commission" composed of one delegate from each state. This was empowered to levy dues by majority vote to pay the expenses of making the river navigable for seagoing ships. At first this Commission was not expected to be permanent. But it gradually changed from an engineering Commission to an administrative organization to regulate river traffic. All its works and employees were neutralized (1865-1871). Most of the powers guaranteed its loans. Since 1878 its authority has been extended several times. It has a special flag. It has full control of river navigation

up as far as seagoing ships pass. It is independent of local sovereignty. It even levies fines and penalties for infraction of its rules.

The Danube Commission meets regularly twice a year. Each of the eight² states has one vote and a majority rules, except on important questions of principles. The executive committee does the work between regular sessions and decides by majority vote. This Commission has wielded great power wisely and well.

Other examples of this kind of international cooperation are the Albanian International Commission of Control organized to oversee the new State of Albania, created in 1913, and the Moroccan International Police arranged for in 1906 by the Algeciras Conference. Both of these failed for reasons not due to defects in the form of organization. The Congo Free State has often been cited as an example of an international state that failed. In fact, it had no international machinery and it was turned over to Leopold, King of Belgium. Under him the natives were ruthlessly exploited and oppressed. In 1908 the Congo State became a Belgian Colony. It was never internationalized.

A third type of international organization has actual power of control over the member states. Such have been formed only when very badly needed. The best example is the International Sugar Commission. Most European states of the latter nineteenth century were paying huge sums out of their treasuries to exporters of home-grown sugar. This grew burdensome to the taxpayers, while this artificially cheap sugar threatened the West Indian sugar industries with death. All sugar producing countries wanted to stop the bounty system, but none dared do it alone. Efforts were made in 1864, 1875, and later to stop it by international agreements, but no state would allow an international organization to penalize it for breaking the agreement.

At last, the need was so great that, at a conference held in Brussels in 1901-1902, a powerful international organization was created. The Sugar Convention was finally signed by fourteen states, including the six great European powers. They agreed to abolish all sugar bounties, to tax all imported bounty-fed sugar as much as the bounty amounted to, and not to tax other sugar. A permanent bureau at Brussels gathers and publishes sugar information. Most important is a permanent International Commission of one delegate from each state. This has much power. It arranges for admittance of other states to the Union, sees to the enforcement of the rules, and by majority vote has an extra tax levied in any member state to protect against bounty-fed sugars. With no chance of appeal, the members are bound to raise their tariffs on sugar in accordance with the decisions of the Sugar Commission. Since 1902 this organization has had frequent sessions. Notwithstanding many disagreements and the withdrawal of Great Britain and Italy (1913), the Union was continued up to September, 1918, by agreement of 1912.

² Roumania has been admitted as a member.

Other examples of international organizations with actual power over members are the International River Commissions, usually composed of representatives of all riparian states. Among these is an organization for regulating navigation of the Rhine that has lasted since 1804. This has no such power as the Sugar Commission.

The Sugar Union is of interest chiefly to sugar producing states, but its efficiency and success suggests that a League of Nations for greater objects might succeed if similar lines were followed. "The work of the Commission has proved that, where sufficient power is granted, an effective international organization is by no means chimerical."²³

It is clear from this brief survey of the European precedents for a League of Nations that in spite of the failure of many attempts to set up strong international organizations and to prevent war, we may hope for better success in the future. Experience has shown that unanimous decisions must not be required in a regularly functioning international body. Only by majority votes can decisions be reached quickly and action taken effectively. If the great powers have representation in proportion to their importance, they will trust large powers to any international organization. The leading statesmen and the peoples of the world must be deeply convinced of the absolute need for an international organization to keep the peace. Only in the face of dire need will the individual states limit their own powers and subordinate themselves to a League of Nations. Above all, unless the war problems are wisely and fairly settled, no amount of organization and machinery will finally prevent war.

²³ Sayre, *Experiments in International Administration*, 131.

AMERICAN PRECEDENTS FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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To represent the War for American Independence as a struggle waged by thirteen colonies in complete agreement with each other, and acting harmoniously to achieve a common national aim—the overthrow of what the patriots chose to call British tyranny—is to tell the story in a way that may sound pleasing to American ears, but is much at variance with the truth, and ignores completely the many fundamental differences that existed among the various colonies and groups of colonies. The thirteen colonies, with a population of the modern Chicago, and scattered along a narrow fringe of the Atlantic coast from Canada to Florida, differed so much from each other in racial antecedents, nationality, customs and manners, religious ideals and economic interests, that it is most difficult to think of them as constituting a nation. People were citizens of their respective states, their loyalty was to the states, and transportation facilities were so limited and traveling was so extremely perilous and difficult, that most people never got outside their own state. As late as Washington's presidency, two stages and twelve horses carried all the freight and passengers between Boston and New York, and in 1789, seventy-five postmasters were sufficient to handle all the mails. The citizens of each state maintained their "splendid isolation," and with it their narrow provincialism. The interests of the New England trader were not ordinarily the interests of the Southern planter, and neither had much sympathy for that restless migratory element of the population which congregated along the frontier. The New England Puritan had a different philosophy of life from the Virginia Cavalier. Maryland had been founded as an asylum for Catholics, New York retained some of the characteristics of Dutch rule, Pennsylvania was the home of Quakers and Germans, and in the South there was a liberal sprinkling of Scotch Highlanders and French Huguenots. The points of similarity that existed between the colonies were seldom sufficient to insure very harmonious co-operation in common enterprises, not even when the independence of the states from British rule was at stake. Washington frequently found it necessary to plead with the states to discard their local prejudices, and there can be little doubt that the frequent inability to secure unified control and concerted action during the Revolution greatly hampered the successful prosecution of the war. In the summer of 1776, when the Americans were engaged in their offensive operations designed to induce the Canadians to come into the war as a fourteenth

colony, the Continental Congress found it necessary to instruct General Schuyler "to recommend, in the strongest terms, harmony between the officers and troops of the different states," and "to disown and suppress all provincial reflections and ungenerous jealousies of every kind." At the beginning of the war, the colonies addressed each other almost as foreign nations. The Second Continental Congress, which acted as the central government throughout the Revolution, resembled a conference of diplomats representing so many sovereign states more than it did a legislative and governing body, and it derived whatever authority it exercised entirely from the willingness of the thirteen republics to have some central government to deal with the emergency. There was a startling decline in the authority exercised by this Congress toward the close of its existence.

In June, 1776, this Continental Congress resolved to appoint a committee "to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between these colonies." Many honest thinkers were convinced that one great republic would never do for so large a country, and could never justly protect such a diversity of interests. Some suggested a number of confederations, for the planters of the South, for the trading and fishing districts of the North, for the western communities, for the middle region, so that the interests of each group might not be jeopardized by membership in a larger union. In spite of such misgivings, the committee set to work, and after deliberations that extended over nearly a year and a half, completed a draft of Articles of Confederation. It was not until March 2, 1781, that Congress was able to meet under the Articles, almost four years being consumed in the effort to induce all the states to ratify the new plan of government.

The Articles of Confederation were really the Covenant for a League of Nations to be entered into by the thirteen original states. Time and experience proved that the Covenant was defective, and that the powers of the League were entirely inadequate even to preserve peace among the various constituents. But it was only after six years of bitter experience and disillusionment that it became possible to substitute a new form of union with adequate powers and greatly increased functions. A brief, summary statement of some of the features of the Articles of Confederation will suffice to suggest some of the striking similarities between them and articles in the proposed constitution for the League of Nations. The thirteen states entered into "a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare," and bound themselves to assist each other against any attacks made upon members of the League from without, but were careful to stipulate that each state retained "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence," and that every power not specifically delegated to Congress was reserved to the states. The contracting

parties agreed to accept certain restrictions upon their powers, such as no secret treaties or alliances between members of the Confederation or with foreign powers; no declaration of war without the consent of Congress, except in time of invasion; certain restrictions upon military and naval armaments of the states, etc. An elaborate machinery was provided for the arbitration of disputes that might arise between states, but the central government could do nothing but investigate and make an award, and had no power to enforce its decision upon a rebellious member. Congress was given what was considered to be the sole power to declare war and make peace, to make treaties and alliances, and to regulate in a general way all relations with foreign powers. Provision was made for the addition of Canada to the League, should that power manifest a desire to join. The dispute between the large and small states over representation in the central assembly was settled by giving each state one vote, and Congress virtually became a Council of the League, composed of members who received instructions from their home governments on how to vote on important questions. The vote of nine states was necessary for any important legislation, and the Articles themselves could not be altered except with the consent of all the states. Jealousy of the rights of the states, and the constant fear that any central government that might be created would be likely to encroach upon and impair the sovereignty of the members of the League, made it impossible to provide Congress with adequate powers. Financially, it was entirely dependent upon the states, and as a result soon found itself on the verge of bankruptcy. No executive or judicial machinery that was at all serviceable had been created. The lack of all coercive power over either individuals or states made it impossible to conduct even the foreign relations of the confederation with success. The Articles provided no penalty for a breach of the compact, and Congress was at the mercy of the states. There was no power, with the possible exception of the regulation and management of the post-office department, which it could exercise independently.

The Confederation Period was a period of turmoil and confusion, valuable because it was necessary to convince the citizens of the states that there must be a greater surrender of sovereign powers to the central government, if utter ruin and anarchy were to be avoided. The critical period from 1783 to 1787 is familiar to every student of American history and need not be considered at length here. Massachusetts and Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Delaware, New York and New Jersey engaged in bitter commercial wars and economic boycotts which the central government was powerless to prevent. Connecticut and Pennsylvania came to blows over their territorial claims in the ill-fated Wyoming Valley, and bloodshed actually occurred. Vermont had been the battling ground for New York, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and when her settlers finally exercised the right of "self-determination," and applied for admis-

sion to the Confederation, New York was able to block action. The address of the discontented soldiers at Newburgh, in 1783, has a familiar ring in these days when we are reading of the manifestos issued by Councils of Soldiers and Sailors. "Peace returns to bless—whom? A country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth, and reward your services? Or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses?" In Philadelphia, the rioting of drunken recruits compelled the weak Congress of the Confederation to take to its heels, and there were vague rumors of plots for a counter-revolution and a military monarchy. Shays' Rebellion must have affected the conservatives of the Confederation Period much as the leveling tendencies of Bolshevism affect some elements of our population today. Society itself seemed to be trembling on the brink of anarchy. Yet so strong was the feeling of state sovereignty that many members of the Massachusetts legislature argued, even after this crisis had necessitated the intervention of federal troops, that it was incompatible with the dignity of the state of Massachusetts to allow troops of the United States to set foot upon her soil.

From the confusion of the Confederation Period arose the demand for a stronger federal union—for a revision of the constitution of the League—which finally bore fruit in the work of the Constitutional Convention. The Confederation Period was an important step toward a more stable government, and a necessary period of education to convince the states that the League must be strengthened if the life of the thirteen states was not to be seriously endangered. Without the experiences of the critical period, the states would not have been willing to merge their sovereignty in the new federal union created by the Constitution.

In the debates over the Constitution, and especially over ratification of the new instrument of government, one finds many of the arguments and objections advanced today in the discussions of the proposed League of Nations. Some of the statements advanced recently by the opponents of the League sound like familiar echoes of a century ago. There was the old struggle between the large and the small states, and the question of their representation in the councils of the union. Some members of the Constitutional Convention—like some who sit at the present Peace Table—displayed a desire to limit representation of new states in such a way that the original drafters of the covenant might always be able to retain control over the destinies of the group. Gerry raised the question of the right of "the myrmidons of the United States" to intervene in a state in case domestic troubles existed—a question that has been much discussed by the champions and opponents of the proposed League of Nations. The Convention was savagely attacked for holding its sessions in secret. The Constitution was criticised as the dream of "visionary, young men" by those whose minds are ever fearful of the new. Much

emphasis was put upon the "surrender of sovereignty" which each state would have to make, and numerous amendments were suggested to safeguard the rights of the states. There has developed a real division of sentiment on the question whether the present League of Nations should be amended first, and then accepted, or ratified first and then amended. Even Liberals who favor a League are not in agreement on this point. In 1788, the Federalists were insisting that if the Constitution were rejected then, there might never again be an opportunity to get it before the states, and therefore the Constitution should be ratified first and amendments could be added later. In 1788, as in 1919, there were many who had served the American cause with fervor and devotion during the war, who failed absolutely to measure up to the standards of constructive statesmanship when the time came to draft an instrument which would really preserve the fruits of victory. One more quotation may be in order because of its peculiar application now. The words came from the lips of a humble Massachusetts farmer, and well express the simple reaction of the common man to problems over which statesmen and politicians often spend weeks and months in useless, technical debate. "There was a black cloud that rose in the east last winter and spread over the west. . . . It brought on a state of anarchy, and that led to tyranny. . . . Our distress was so great that we should have been glad to snatch at anything that looked like a government. . . . When I saw this Constitution, I found that it was a cure for these disorders. . . . Some gentlemen say, Don't be in a hurry; take time to consider, and don't take a leap in the dark. I say, Take things in time, . . . now is the harvest, now is the time to reap the fruit of our labor; and if we don't do it now, I am afraid we never shall have another opportunity." To the masses, weary, and face to face with the choice between the utter collapse of society and a world league that will at least represent an honest effort to secure peace, such a simple argument may be as effective in 1919 for getting popular support for a world covenant as it was in 1788 to secure the adoption of a Constitution for the thirteen American commonwealths. After a few years of trial, the opponents of ratification found it very embarrassing when called upon to account for their earlier position of hostility to a plan of union that was so soon acknowledged to be an unprecedented success.

In 1803, the area of the infant federal republic was more than doubled by the acquisition of the "foreign territory" of Louisiana, a region that had been French for a century, and under Spanish rule for almost half a century. Plantation life in lower Louisiana and the relations between masters and slaves had the patriarchal characteristics of continental feudalism. Customs and language were French, and in New Orleans, Spanish rule had left its influence, so that New Orleans, with its Cabildo, with the Alcaldes patrolling the streets each night to enforce the law and keep the peace, with its Syndic to

supervise what little trade there was, had a form of municipal government totally unlike that of any American city. Louisiana, with its strange code of criminal law, never printed; without any form of self-government, and ruled for the last forty years by the whim of Spanish officials supported by force, was as much a foreign territory in the eyes of Americans, as any nation across the Atlantic. Except for the few travelers, trappers and Indians who had entered the territory, Louisiana was practically unknown to Americans of the early nineteenth century. The curious story of the "Salt Mountain" furnished sufficient evidence to prove the ignorance of Americans in general in regard to their newly acquired province. Jefferson was fiercely denounced by his Eastern critics, who saw control of federal relations gradually slipping from their hands, for proposing a treaty that meant the absorption of an alien race into the United States. Some opposed incorporation into the Union on any terms, others were willing to permit annexation on condition that the region remain forever subject to the older members of the federation.

The American pioneer soon converted Louisiana into a real American province, and the task was by no means difficult. What is especially significant in this connection is that the United States never tried in any way to interfere with the rights and mode of life of the French and Spanish inhabitants. There was some little discontent immediately after the transfer of the territory to the United States, but this was due to a large extent to the fact that the old inhabitants were not ready for their new liberties. Governor Claiborne's rule was mild, a territorial government was soon organized, and assimilation went on rapidly and peacefully. It is still possible to find traces of French influence in the social traits and customs of the Creoles in present-day New Orleans, and in the laws of the state of Louisiana, whose Civil Code shows the influence of the code promulgated by Napoleon in 1804.

In our great Southwest, there are traces of Romance influence. Here ruins of Spanish missions, innumerable place names, Indians worshipping in the Spanish tongue, adobe buildings and towns laid out on the Spanish model, bear witness to almost three centuries of Spanish occupation and influence. A few old Spanish laws are still to be found on the statute books of some of our western states, and much of our mining law in the Rockies has its antecedents in Spanish, rather than Anglo-Saxon legal conceptions. "California" seems to be a name taken from an old Spanish romance, and such terms as "bonanza" and "corral" are traceable to Spanish origins. When Texas was admitted there was some protest against the admission of a "foreign state," but in our whole Southwest the Spanish element was soon engulfed by the great tide of American settlers that swept across the plains toward the Pacific. Again, the problem of assimilation was easy to solve. Nevertheless, in these days when the world

is full of talk concerning the future of its "oppressed nationalities," it is gratifying to note that not a single act of the American government was intended to interfere in any way with the personal and property rights of the native population. No attempt was made to uproot Spanish customs or prevent the use of the Spanish language, and the citizens of the conquered provinces lived on under the new rule, hardly conscious of the fact that their allegiance had now been transferred to a new power, whose territory extended from ocean to ocean,—so rapidly had the little League of 1789 expanded.

It is impossible to discuss at length the great European immigration of the last century, and its effect upon the United States, and our policy toward the new arrivals. Yet it is important to call attention once more to this steady, peaceful absorption of dozens of racial and national groups into the stream of our national life. The process went on so smoothly and so naturally that few of us realized, before the war, that there was really an Americanization problem to be solved. During the war, the nation presented a practically united front to its foreign adversaries, and what trouble there was with internal enemies was the result of the activities of small minorities in one or two national groups. We have shown a truly remarkable capacity for assimilating foreign populations, and have more or less prided ourselves on our policy of holding wide open the doors of opportunity for the oppressed and discontented of other lands.

Proud, aristocratic, blue-blooded Boston is fast becoming an Irish city, and has had a number of Irish Catholic mayors in recent years. Holyoke, Lawrence and Lowell—names that date back to the halcyon days of the New England aristocracy—are today the homes of French-Canadian and South-European textile workers. There are more Russians in New York City than in Odessa; the City of Brotherly Love contains more Irishmen than Cork; there are probably more Scandinavians in our Northwest today than are left in Norway and Sweden; and President Wilson, on his recent visit to Italy, could without exaggeration, refer to New York as one of the greatest Italian cities of the world. We have all, in the last few years, heard Wisconsin maliciously called a German state. Before 1914, at least, there was little desire to interfere with the peculiar customs and practices these foreigners brought to our shores, and their social organizations of various kinds, designed to keep alive the memories and traditions of the Fatherland, were protected, and sometimes actually encouraged, by our laws and our government officials. There are still thousands of foreign language newspapers, representing dozens of tongues and national groups, printed and circulated in America. But the processes of naturalization have always been very easy, and long before their completion, the ambitious ward politician has usually laid his plans to introduce the new arrivals into the mysteries and intricacies of the American political system, especially in municipal politics.

The history of the United States will furnish many precedents for a League of Nations. From a weak confederation of thirteen isolated states, jealous of any scheme that might impair their sovereignty, the United States has grown into the largest and most powerful federal union of the world. In the process, it has assimilated dozens of foreign populations, and has made additions of territory whose area greatly exceeded the area of the original confederation. Our Civil War could not be avoided, but we have no "conquered provinces" to deal with, no "oppressed nationalities" whose support and loyalty can be secured only at the point of the bayonet. We have had some experience in solving problems something like those that challenge the attention of the world today. In the light of our experience, Americans should be able to make a real contribution to the new order of things toward which the world is groping. Our "League of Nations" has stood the test for almost a century and a half.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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While still hardly recovered from the surprise of their little expected participation in the Great War, Americans find themselves confronted with the proposal of a League of Nations, which would perpetuate their activities upon a world scale—a proposal which is not a dream to be realized mayhap in some distant future, but a program for international conduct henceforth. It is not unnatural under the circumstances for us to hesitate while we inquire whether such an association is in harmony with our historical evolution, or whether it is tantamount to a rupture of traditions and policies which are not only time-honored but cherished in the conviction that they rest upon the peculiar needs and interests of our nation as interpreted by our wisest statesmanship.

The so-called Monroe Doctrine is the chief of the policies thus drawn into question. In recent discussions it has been urged by some that the Monroe Doctrine is extended and enforced by the provisions of the League covenant, while others declare with equal emphasis that the League puts an end to it. Much confusion of thought has arisen from the failure to analyze the Doctrine, which is really composite; for analysis indicates that the constituent elements are unequally affected by the new program.

Briefly stated, the Monroe Doctrine comprises the three principles of (1) isolation, (2) non-intervention, and (3) paramount interest; but not all of them had their origin in Monroe's message. An inquiry into their origin and development will be essential to an understanding of the effect upon them of the entry of the United States into the League of Nations.

The policy of isolation was the lesson which Washington drew from his study of the situation of the infant Republic during the fifteen years following the Revolution. Out upon the western verge of white civilization the new-born state was playing the part of a pioneer in the field of government. Its independence rested upon the principle of self-determination, asserted in arms against the authority of Great Britain; the theory upon which it built its political system was that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." All this contrasted sharply with the system of contemporary Europe, where no promise of modern democracy could yet be seen save through the lurid atmosphere of the French Revolution. During these early years it was a serious question whether the infant

order of the younger world could free itself sufficiently from European domination to grow strong and become permanent. Distant as Europe was, the powers of its western shores were our neighbors by virtue of holding colonial possessions contiguous to our own territory on three sides. At a time when feeling for the United States was not cordial, and when nations were under the dominance of the old system of statecraft, Great Britain held Canada, and Spain, Louisiana and the Gulf cost. Our transallegany settlements, cut off from the coast by the mountains, and, like Serbia, dependent upon natural outlets held under foreign control, were fruitful soil for intrigues which tampered with their allegiance and threatened our territorial integrity. Our neighbors on both flanks, through "secret diplomacy," influenced the Indian tribes within our borders, preventing control of our own territory and bringing us at one time or other to the verge of war with both. To this situation, already menacing when Washington became President, were added difficulties arising from the French revolutionary wars. The rivalries of the European states found large scope for activity in America, little regardful of the policy of neutrality proclaimed by the head of the little Republic which found itself caught between the opposing forces in the battle of the giants. Genet's attempt to use the soil of the United States as a base of operations against the enemies of France is only the most conspicuous example of the violation of our rights. Even after his recall, France sought to procure from Spain the retrocession of Louisiana, partly, as we know now, with the purpose of acquiring a geographical position which would enable her to control our foreign policy; and while Great Britain impressed our seamen and seized our merchant vessels under her own unrecognized maritime code, the French minister Adet sought to bring about the election of Jefferson in 1796, hoping that it would mean the reversal of our alleged pro-British policy.

During these trying years the temptation was very great for the government of the United States to seek support by entering into alliances, after the Old World fashion. Hamilton consistently favored an alliance with England, while Jefferson as opposing leader desired the revival of the French connection of the revolutionary period. Even Washington wavered in 1792, and leaned toward an understanding with France as an offset to the *entente* of England and Spain upon our flanks. The conduct of France must have taught him before his second term ended that to depart from the policy of neutrality would mean the choice of a path through quicksands. The policy of neutrality, though maintained with the utmost difficulty, was safer than an alliance which might well stake the destiny of the new Republic upon the rise or ebb of the tide of controversies arising in Europe. Such a connection would threaten the assimilation of the democracy of the New World to the system of the Old, and the destruction of the hope of a new and better order in its very infancy.

Time, moreover, would prove friendly to the policy of independent action. The treaties with England and Spain in 1794-5 had already relieved the situation measureably, and with the growth of the United States the menace of the European control of adjacent lands would diminish.

Washington's words could have been written only in the face of the conditions described, and it is only with those conditions in mind that we can read his Farewell Address with understanding.

The background against which we must picture our first President as he wrote the Address is a group of powerful, autocratic states, seated in Europe, yet through territorial possessions or ambitions in America, unfriendly neighbors, during its infancy, to the first democracy of the modern world. With Washington the policy of isolation was a policy of self-defense, a means—possibly the only means—of preserving for democracy that opportunity for a self-determined life for which it had fought in the Revolution. Only in the fact of the neighborhood of European states which held lands desired also by jealous rivals was there any incentive, when Washington wrote, to seek European allies. What his advice might have been under other circumstances than those actually existing must remain a matter of conjecture. In fact, the conditions which gave rise to his utterance changed rapidly during the years which followed, and vanished within a quarter century.

Washington's policy of isolation was set forth in the form of advice against permanent alliances. Monroe's message of 1823 restated the policy in these words: "In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do." However, the original portion of the message is that which sets forth the doctrine of non-intervention. The occasion for the message hardly need be rehearsed. The autocrats of the Holy Alliance had entered upon a course of intervention in the affairs of other states which had resulted in the crushing of popular movements in Spain and Naples, and rumors were afloat that efforts would be made to coerce the former colonies of Spain into acceptance of their old allegiance. Against any such interposition with governments of the New World, which we had recognized as independent, Monroe declared himself. In form, the declaration, like Washington's advice against foreign alliances, was a policy of self-defense. The restoration of Spain's authority would destroy the liberty of states whose independence and institutions were based upon the same foundations as those of the United States, and restore the essentially antagonistic system of Europe to territory adjoining our own, bringing back in a measure the dangerous situation of Washington's day. The demand for non-intervention thus came as a supplement to the policy of Washington, to protect the United States against the return of unwelcome neighbors. In spirit and effect, however, the demand for non-intervention was less a means of

self-defence than a measure of protection for our weaker neighbors, for whose just hopes, as imitators of our example, we entertained the liveliest sympathy. As Washington had asserted the policy of isolation as a measure protective of our opportunity for a self-determined national life, so Monroe asserted the principle of non-intervention in behalf of similar rights for the entire sisterhood of American republics. The purpose of the Holy Allies to make Europe safe for autocracy through intervention to crush incipient revolutions was fairly met by the purpose of the United States to make America safe for democracy through insistence upon the right of every independent state to work out its own political salvation free from coercion by outside forces.

The doctrine of paramount interest is implied, rather than expressed, in several phrases of Monroe's message, such as the statement that any attempt to extend the European system to America was a matter which concerned our peace and safety. Like the policy of isolation, however, the doctrine of paramount interest had appeared several years earlier, as a principle of self-defence. It had taken the form of opposition to the transfer of territory upon our borders to any other European state than the possessor. The efforts of France to recover Louisiana had been an especial cause of uneasiness. Spain, a decaying power, through her control of the mouth of the Mississippi, had caused the United States infinite trouble over the question of the navigation of the river, and the substitution of France, it was believed, would menace the hold of the United States upon the whole transallegany area. The interest of the United States was so vitally concerned that President Jefferson had been constrained to declare that Spain must yield the Province of Louisiana to no other power (except, by implication, the United States). A few years later a similar attitude had been assumed with reference to Florida.

Such was the origin of the elements of the Monroe Doctrine. Each has undergone an interesting development since the days of Monroe. In popular estimation, the principle of isolation has continued to be regarded as of equal value with the principle of non-intervention, due doubtless to the great prestige of Washington as its author, and to its reiteration by Monroe. It received new emphasis at Monroe's hands in the decision to refuse to join with Great Britain in a declaration against intervention, and to issue the *pronunciamento* against the policy of the Holy Alliance as a purely American policy. It is nevertheless clear that Monroe's statement that "it does not comport with our policy" to take any part "in the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves," served as a sort of *quid pro quo*, to purchase the acquiescence of Europe in our demand for non-intervention. Since Washington's time, the acquisition of the provinces of Louisiana and Florida, together with the revolt of the Latin-American states from Spain, had removed the question of entangling alliances from the realm of practical politics. The situation

of the European powers with relation to the United States had become in fact what Washington had described as "detached and distant." The policy of isolation which Washington had deemed both difficult and dangerous had become easy and natural. But the disavowal of the policy of participation in European affairs made possible the demand for a reciprocal policy of non-interposition by Europe in American affairs. The reciprocity of these policies, however, is deceptive. There was no moral equality between the non-intervention in America demanded of Europe and the non-participation in European affairs practiced by the United States. The former was founded upon right and justice; the latter, in the turn given it by Monroe, rested upon mere expediency. It was not an admission of the righteousness of the European system, nor a confession of indifference towards violation of justice in the Old World. Monroe's policy of isolation was a confession of weakness, not the announcement of a principle of intrinsic worth—his message was the expression of a determination to uphold liberal principles where we might hope to do so successfully, but an admission at the same time of unreadiness to assert the applicability in Europe of principles which we lacked the force to maintain. We could not do otherwise than accept the role of "anxious and interested spectators" of European events, such as the crushing of popular movements by autocratic power. Our isolation was not "glorious," but our "anxiety and interest" foreshadowed a bolder policy in the coming days of strength.

Despite popular attachment, the logical basis of the policy of isolation, since the days of Monroe, has been the support which it has afforded for the principle of European non-intervention in America. On this account it has been jealously guarded, but with diminishing success, in the face of the growing community of interest among the nations and of our own increasing contact with world affairs. Resort has been had repeatedly, during the last two decades of increasing activity in world politics, to disguises and explanations, in the effort to persuade ourselves and others that our isolation is being maintained. Such is the argument that our advent as a Pacific power does not impair our traditional policy, since the Pacific is a "third sphere," in which we may develop our interests while continuing to regard Europe and America as separate spheres. Such also is the declaration made after the first Hague Conference, that our participation was not to be regarded as a departure from our "traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling" ourselves "in the political questions or policy of internal administration of any foreign state," nor as a relinquishment of our traditional attitude towards purely American questions. The first clause of this declaration was doubtless intended at the time as a reaffirmation of the policy of isolation. As a matter of fact, it is nothing of the kind; it merely asserts anew the policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states, and does not disavow participation in the set-

tlement of international questions arising in Europe, if our interests are affected. And in the Algeciras Conference on the Moroccan question, while professing concern only to protect our own rights under old treaties, we did in fact share in the settlement of a dispute between the two groups of European allies, throwing our weight into the scale against the central European allies.

Even a century ago, the Napoleonic wars showed the impossibility of neutrality for the United States during a general European conflict. Americans were strangely blind during the first years of the recent struggle, to the practical certainty that if long continued their rights would become so involved that they must also enter. Partly alarming, partly reassuring, was the President's declaration, some months before the breach came, that this was the last great war in which the United States would be able to remain neutral. Already there had been much disquietude of mind in America over a policy which held us inactive and silent in the face of the violation of Belgium, because Belgium happened to lie upon the eastern side of the Atlantic instead of the western, and from the moment of this utterance, opinion moved rapidly to the point where it held with the President, that neutrality was no longer desirable under conditions existing in the world. Nevertheless, it was not Germany's violation of Belgium, nor any of her illegal and inhuman practices in Europe, which brought the United States into the war. Not until our national rights were flagrantly and repeatedly outraged did we accept the state of war as an existing fact; and in the end we waged war not as the ally but as the "associate" of the entente nations. Thus technically we preserved our tradition of isolation, but the experience taught none the less clearly that the United States is concerned equally with the European nations with the conditions out of which such wars arise. No considerable war can arise in Europe in future in which the United States will not be obliged to participate. We confront the alternative of an occasional and spasmodic participation on a vast scale in conflicts arising in Europe, or of a continuous and consistent co-operation with the forces of enlightenment on that continent, in maintaining order and justice in international relations.

As a moral principle, the non-intervention branch of the Monroe Doctrine, although associated historically with the policy of isolation, properly stands on its own feet. As a moral principle, moreover, it was and is as valid in Europe as in America, and as binding upon the United States as upon the powers against which it was invoked. In practice, its limitations were due to the fact that the United States alone was its guarantor, and the fact that the guarantee was confined to the western hemisphere. The insistence upon France's withdrawal from Mexico after her intervention during the sixties is the chief example of the application of the original doctrine. In no other case has the policy been directly challenged, although the decade preceding the outbreak of the late war showed an increasing disposition on the

part of Germany to do so. Nevertheless, the United States has found the maintenance of this principle increasingly difficult and embarrassing, under the conditions of economic rivalry which have developed among the nations since the Civil War—i.e., the economic imperialism of the last half-century—and has been compelled to develop the doctrine further under stress of the new circumstances. The competition of the capitalists of the advanced industrial nations for the control of the markets, the supplies of raw materials, and the opportunities for investment in mines and railways, in the more backward countries, led in this period to a practice of seeking special concessions from the governments of such states which proved disastrous to political independence in more than one case. Such investments often proved insecure, owing to the imperfect order maintained in such countries, and not infrequently the governments themselves failed through inability or insincerity to meet their own obligations to concessionaires. The temptation was strong for such syndicates of capitalists, when crossed in their expectations of profit, to appeal to their governments to support their economic claims by political action. In Asia and Africa such government interposition proved in case after case to be the entering wedge for political control of the backward state. Troops sent to restore order on behalf of the property interests of concessionaires remained to preserve order, and protectorates or annexations followed in due course. In America the evolution of a similar procedure was checked by the Monroe Doctrine, as developed by our later presidents. President Roosevelt perceived the tendency in consequence of the naval demonstration against Venezuela by Germany and Great Britain, and met it by the extension of the Monroe Doctrine known as the "Big Stick" policy. In essence this meant that the United States could not, under the Monroe Doctrine, permit the use of force against American states by European powers, lest their sovereignty be impaired; therefore, since this immunity under the Monroe Doctrine must not become a shield behind which American states may evade their obligations, the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine lays upon the United States the duty of enforcing the just claims of European states. Logically, this conclusion involved the danger of violation by the United States of the very principle of non-intervention which the Monroe Doctrine upheld—violation by the United States to prevent violation by European states. It implied a moral superiority and a police authority on the part of the United States which were odious to the Latin American peoples. In practice, however, it fell short of the well-meant but meddlesome "Big Brother" policy of Blaine, for it inaugurated the plan of receiverships, or financial protectorates, based upon treaties or agreements made with the menaced neighbor, as in the case of Santo Domingo. Thus the European creditor states were satisfied by methods which savored strongly of imperialism on the part of the United States. President Wilson took another turn by announcing the disapproval

by his administration of the practice of special concessions by weak states to foreign syndicates. Let such syndicates avoid investments in countries where public order was not well maintained, and thus avoid the need of appeals to their governments for aid. Such a policy would strike at the root of the evil of intervention on economic pretexts, but would involve the evil of delay in the development of the resources of lands held by backward peoples. A better alternative than either the "Big Stick" policy or the Wilson doctrine offered was appearing above the horizon when the European war-cloud broke, in the form of an American concert, devoted to the maintenance of the principle of non-intervention, to the settlement by arbitration or conciliation of disputes between American states, and to the coercion of delinquent states by publicity and the pressure of public opinion. This Pan-American concert promised to relieve the United States of the task of a unilateral guarantee of the non-intervention branch of the Monroe Doctrine, which under modern conditions required the use of means odious to the other American states; and in particular it has large significance as a forerunner of the League of Nations.

Previous to Monroe's presidency, as we have seen, the doctrine of paramount interest had been a policy of self-defence. The United States had opposed the transfer of Louisiana or Florida by Spain to any other European power, on the ground of its own safety. Almost simultaneously with the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, a similar position was taken with regard to Cuba. In this connection John Quincy Adams declared that there were laws of political gravity as well as physical gravity, and by these laws Cuba must in time become a part of the territory of the United States. In these words we may mark the transition of the doctrine of paramount interest from a principle of self-defense to a principle of imperialism. As an outgrowth of the discussion with Russia of her extravagant territorial claims on the Pacific coast, Monroe's message had announced "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." From this doctrine of non-colonization, combined with the principle of opposition to the acquisition by European states of lands upon our borders, was presently deduced a policy of opposition to any acquisition of American territory by foreign states, even by the method of fair purchase. Unlike the principle of non-intervention, by which the United States was bound in common with European powers, the dogma of non-expansion in America was not regarded as restricting the liberty of our own country, although by the principle of non-intervention we were, of course, bound to respect the territorial integrity and other sovereign rights of our neighbors, and to expand, if at all, only by fair means. Under the malign influence of the slave power and the "manifest destiny" creed, however, para-

mount interest became imperialism of a most frank and aggressive type. Witness the conquest of California and the Southwest to forestall Britain and other European powers; and the Ostend Manifesto, drawn by statesmen high in the councils of the contemporary administration, threatening the seizure of Cuba by force—the “highwayman’s plea, that might makes right.” With all our altruism and conscientious regard for the rights of the peoples brought under our control, our recent expansion in the Caribbean region, based upon this doctrine of paramount interest, is semi-imperialistic. We seek to control the approaches to the Panama canal, since our interests forbid that any other power should hold them; the whole policy of a canal owned and controlled by the United States rests upon the same principle of paramount interest; our method of acquiring the canal zone recalls the days of Polk.

Our objection to the acquisition of American territory by European states has ignored the changes which have taken place in the European political system since the days of the Holy Alliance. Resting then upon the defensible basis of mutual antagonism of the political ideals of the two hemispheres, and the danger to our peace and safety in any extension of the European system in America, it has ignored the progress of democracy in the countries of western Europe—the virtual conquest of the Old World by American liberalism. Apart from the fact that a discrimination in favor of the liberal powers would doubtless have been impracticable, it is difficult to see how the objection, in these latter times, to the acquisition of American territory by proper means by, say, England, can be supported on other than purely selfish grounds.

It is safe to assert that it is the practice of the United States under the doctrine of paramount interest that gives Europe its dominant impression of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine. This principle has cast its shadow over the other elements of the doctrine, and in the dim light it appears to be a policy of indifference to Europe’s weal and woe, so long as America can be treated by the United States as a field within which it may enjoy monopoly privileges.

We are now able, perhaps, to estimate the effects of the League of Nations upon these several principles of the Monroe Doctrine. As to the policy of isolation, it would be useless to attempt to prove that it is consistent with membership in such a League. But the policy of isolation was moribund, if not actually defunct, from natural causes, before the launching of the League, so that membership can amount to nothing more than a frank admission of accomplished facts. There are, however, in the Covenant, safeguards against an unduly burdensome share in the police duties of the League, in the provisions that no state shall be made a mandatory without its consent, and that the Council shall have power only to recommend the forces to be contributed by the member states for protecting the Covenants of the League. Naturally, petty disorders in Europe would be dealt with by

member states nearer to the scene of trouble, and the aid of remote powers would be called for only in serious crises.

The principle of the Monroe Doctrine which appears, in the light of this analysis, to be supremely worth preserving, is the principle of non-intervention. It was the violation of this principle by the Teutonic powers which first seriously alienated American opinion. It was this right of states to live their own life, the small as well as the great, which President Wilson had in mind when, in his address before the Senate, in January, 1917, he proposed a Monroe Doctrine for the world. Although the United States did not enter the war until its own rights were violated, once entered, its aims at once expanded far beyond the mere purpose of vindicating its own rights. However variously phrased—to make the world safe for democracy—to vindicate the rights of small nations—to liberate submerged nationalities—to destroy militarism—and however elaborated in many “points,” the program of the United States as drafted by the President, in making peace and in redrawing the map of Europe, is in large part an effort to promote the principle of non-intervention. For the principle of non-intervention, while impotent to redress wrongs in the domestic practices of states, means liberty for all peoples, once conscious of their nationality, politically independent, and peaceably disposed towards their neighbors, to live their own life and realize their own national selfhood. To guarantee this right is the purpose of the much-discussed Article X of the League Covenant. The provision commits all member states not only to the observance of the principle of non-intervention, which the Monroe Doctrine sought to maintain against the great states of Europe, but to its defence, not only in the western hemisphere but in the whole world. Verily, this is an extension of the Monroe Doctrine devoutly to be wished. The effect of Article XXI, added in the revision of the Covenant, providing that “nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of . . . regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace,” is problematical. It leaves the matter less clear than it was in the first draft. If the United States is not likely to be called upon to assist in enforcing League policies in Europe except in unusual crises, it is equally likely that controversies involving American states would rarely be the occasion for the interposition, under League authority, of European forces. Yet these forces would be available in great emergencies, and if the League's principles and decisions are worthy of enforcement, should be welcome when needed. The new article seems to mean that only American members of the League may be charged with the execution of League measures and duties in this hemisphere—a provision which strengthens the sanctions of the new system only on the theory that the part is greater than the whole. The provision seems to be due to survival of the dread of an autocratic European system, suspicion that the League may be used to cloak ambitious designs on the part

of the powers, or unreasoning adherence to tradition. However, even though weakened by the reservation, the non-intervention branch of the Monroe Doctrine is clearly extended and strengthened by the League Covenant.

The silence of the original draft of the Covenant might have facilitated the exit of the imperialistic doctrine of paramount interest, but the reservation permits the survival also of this part of the Monroe Doctrine. Without this article, the Covenant perhaps implied that questions involving a plea of paramount interest on the part of the United States would be subject to the procedure of the League. The reservation seems calculated, and may have been intended, to protect the United States in the enjoyment of those special privileges which have given the chief occasion for criticism of the Monroe Doctrine by foreign powers. If so, it will tend to disturb rather than to safeguard the future peace of the world.

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The following is the full text of the amended Covenant of the League of Nations as announced on April 27, 1919, by the State Department. The footnotes call attention to changes made in the Covenant as originally drafted:

PREAMBLE TO COVENANT¹

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 1—MEMBERSHIP²

The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this Covenant and also such of those other states named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the secretariate within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all members of the League.

Any full, self-governing state, dominion or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

¹ In the original preamble the last sentence reads, "adopts this constitution" instead of "agree to this Covenant."

² This article is new, embodying with alterations and additions the old Article 7. It provides more specifically the method of admitting new members and adds the entirely new paragraph for withdrawal from the league. No mention of withdrawal was made in the original document.

ARTICLE 2—ORGANIZATION³

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an assembly and of a council, with a permanent secretariat.

ARTICLE 3—PROCEDURE⁴

The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The assembly shall meet at stated intervals, and from time to time, as occasion may require, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

ARTICLE 4—GOVERNMENT⁵

The council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the assembly, representatives of (blank) shall be members of the council.

With the approval of the majority of the assembly, the council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the council; the council, with like approval, may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the assembly for representation on the council.

The council shall meet from time to time, as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the League not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

ARTICLE 5—DECISIONS⁶

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the assembly, or at the council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the assembly or by the council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the assembly and the first meeting of the council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6—WORKING FORCE⁷

The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise a secretariat general and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

³ Originally, this was part of Article 1. It gives the name assembly to the gathering of representatives of the members of the League, formerly referred to merely as "the body of delegates."

⁴ This embodies parts of the original Articles 1, 2 and 3, with only minor changes. It refers to "members of the League" where the term "high contracting parties" was originally used, and this change is followed throughout the revised draft.

⁵ This embodies that part of the original Article 3 designating the original members of the council. The paragraph providing for increase in the membership of the council is new.

⁶ The first paragraph requiring unanimous agreement in both assembly and council except where otherwise provided is new. The other two paragraphs originally were included in Article 4.

⁷ This replaces the original Article 5; in the original the appointment of the first secretary general was left to the council, and approval of the majority of the assembly was not required for subsequent appointment.

The first secretary general shall be the person named in the annex. Thereafter the secretary general shall be appointed by the council with the approval of the majority of the assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary general with the approval of the council.

The secretary general shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the assembly and of the council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the international bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 7—SEAT OF LEAGUE⁸

The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under and in connection with the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other properties occupied by the League and its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8—ARMAMENT⁹

The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of a peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments, limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

ARTICLE 9—ADVISORY¹⁰

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council of the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE 10—AGGRESSIONS¹¹

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger

⁸ Embodying parts of the old Articles 5 and 6, this article names Geneva instead of leaving the seat of the League to be chosen later and adds the provision for changing the seat in the future. The paragraph opening positions to women equally with men is new.

⁹ This covers the ground of the original Article 8, but is rewritten to make it clearer that armament reduction plans must be adopted by the nations affected before they become effective.

¹⁰ Unchanged except for the insertion of the words "Article 1."

¹¹ Virtually unchanged.

of such aggression, the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11—SECURITY¹²

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the secretary general shall, on the request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstances whatever affecting international relations which threaten to disturb either peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12—DISPUTES¹³

The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award of the arbitrators or the report by the council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13—ARBITRATION¹⁴

The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them, which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be successfully settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14—COURT OF JUSTICE¹⁵

The council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption, plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly.

ARTICLE 15—ADJUDICATION¹⁶

If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the

¹² In the original it was provided that the "high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action," etc., where the revised draft reads, "the League shall take any action," etc.

¹³ Virtually unchanged except that some provisions of the original are eliminated for inclusion in other articles.

¹⁴ Only minor changes in language.

¹⁵ Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence.

¹⁶ The paragraph specifically excluding matters of "domestic jurisdiction" from action by the council is new. In the last sentence the words, "if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the council," etc., have been added.

League agree that they will submit the matter to the council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary general, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the secretary general as promptly as possible, statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers; the council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of any dispute and if such efforts are successful a statement shall be made public giving such fact and explanations regarding the dispute, terms of settlement thereof as the council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the council, either unanimously or by a majority vote, shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto. Any member of the League represented on the council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the council.

In any case referred to the assembly all the provisions of this article and Article 12, relating to the action and powers of the council, shall apply to the action and powers of the assembly, provided that a report made by the assembly and concurred in by representatives of those members of the League represented on the council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16—BELLIGERENCY¹⁷

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its Covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall, *ipso facto*, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armaments of forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League.

The members of the League agree further that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economical measures which are taken under this article in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures

¹⁷ Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence.

aimed at one of their number by the Covenant-breaking state, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the Covenants of the League.

Any member of the League which has violated any Covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17—UNITED ACTION¹⁸

In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a state which is not a member of the League, or between states not members of the League, the state or states not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the council.

Upon such invitation being given, the council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18—SECRET TREATIES¹⁹

Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League, shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19—REVISIONS²⁰

The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20—ABROGATION²¹

The members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case members of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such members to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21—MONROE DOCTRINE²²

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

¹⁸ Virtually unchanged.

¹⁹ Same as original Article 23.

²⁰ Virtually the same as original Article 2.

²¹ Virtually the same as original Article 25.

²² Entirely new.

ARTICLE 22—MANDATORIES²³

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well being and development of such people form the sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic condition and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the nations for other than police purposes and the defense of territory and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa, and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from the centers of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances, can be better administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE 23—LABOR PACT²⁴

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations; (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; (d) will entrust the

²³ This is the original Article 19, virtually unchanged except for the insertion of the words "and who are willing to accept," in describing nations to be given mandatories.

²⁴ This replaces the original Article 20, and embodies parts of the original Articles 18 and 21. It eliminates a specific provision formerly made for a bureau of labor and adds the clauses "b" and "c."

League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interests; (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-18 shall be in mind; (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24—TRADE BUREAUS²⁵

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions, but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The council may include as part of the expenses of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25—RED CROSS²⁶

The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26—AMENDMENTS²⁷

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the assembly.

Such amendment shall (the word "not" apparently omitted in cable transmission) bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

ANNEX TO THE COVENANT²⁸

ONE

Original members of the League of Nations.

Signatories of the treaty of peace:

United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New South Wales, India, China, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjas, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the Covenant:

Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

Two

First secretary general of the League of Nations (blank).

²⁵ Same as Article 22 in the original, with the matter after the first two sentences added.

²⁶ Entirely new.

²⁷ Same as the original, except that a majority of the League instead of three-fourths is required for ratification of amendments, with the last sentence added.

²⁸ The annex was not published with the original draft of the Covenant. Sir Eric Drummond has been appointed first secretary general.

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A CRISIS IN CIVICS TEACHING

By HENRY R. SPENCER

The Ohio State University

A fearful responsibility rests today upon every teacher of civics. That is always true, but today there must be an unusually poignant realization of the fact. The iron is hot, and must be struck. The very man in the street knows that the great war was a contest not of kings and statesmen, not even of selfish national interests solely, but of political ideas; and that those ideas were potent because embodied not merely in the texts of statesmen's ultimatums and generals' orders, but in the enthusiasm and the dogged will of millions of marching men. The rising generation, then, the possibly marching millions of tomorrow, must have right principles to fight for, or, of more importance still, to organize and labor for in times of peace.

Furthermore, as truth is dynamic and progressive, we teachers must not hope to discover a treasure of right maxims, of political principles that we may impart to our students in happy confidence that all will be well. Our masters of tomorrow will fashion their own rules and institutions; it is our duty today to assist them in developing a judgment that can prove all things and hold fast to that which is good. We must help them to think clearly and honestly and fundamentally in matters political, and by giving them a firm hold on the very roots of things enable them to plan freely a liberal program which conserves what experience has approved and progresses toward goals consciously chosen.

For this reason there will be need of a slight shift of emphasis from institutions to functions, from devices to demands. However much more difficult may be the analysis for finding the idea and the inculcation of an ideal than the description of an institution, we teachers have to realize that the institution we describe is relatively ephemeral, the purpose it is to serve remaining while the institution is perverted to other uses or decays or disappears. For instance, the convention system may fail, the primary election system be substituted,—the task always remains of exercising the function of nomination. As the student exercises his faculty of analysis to find purposes, so must he with equal constancy develop a faculty of criticism, to be exercised upon the institutions devised for fulfilling these purposes. This is all the more true to the extent that the democratic ideal requires a people free in its thought; free from the tyranny of habit, from slavish submission to things as they are, from the sheep-like following of any demagog uttering a familiar slogan; for slogans are easy to react to, difficult and almost dangerous to think about and act intelligently upon. There is critical need today of conscientious effort on our part to counteract the widely current unin-

telligent prejudice that as progress is risky, inaction is safe and sane, reaction safest and sanest. If we let students think of radical inquiry into institutions as ridiculous or dangerous, we are guilty of contributing to their delinquency as self-governing democrats in the coming days, to their political stagnation; we prevent their growth into free-thinking men, and we provide material for demagogery and ochlocracy, which serves only to pave the way for tyranny.

The scope of the present-day civics, its radical inquiry and its resulting program, will be political in the broadest sense, the *res publica*; nothing less than the whole social problem, in all its baffling but fascinating complexity. The public school, from elementary grades to "graduate" school, must plan its program with a view to the needs of young people in all stages of development and of infinitely various opportunities. But the "civics" that all must study, and which the self-governing democracy has a right to assume in all its formed citizens, must have dealt with matters generally called economic and social as well as those called political. The *res publica*, or public affairs, with which our students must deal is a matter not only of voting booth and jury, of constitutions and congress, but of trade unions and trusts, of social insurance and railroads. To meet this ideal and reach the millions of young people who never reach even high school grade means a reconstruction of school programs and a simplification of material to be taught, but that difficulty is no excuse to the civics profession for failing to grapple with its great task. The universal interest in Bolshevism is a sign of popular realization that this war, and especially this peace that the nations are grappling with, involves economic and social reconstruction of the most far-reaching character, both as a necessary, unavoidable outcome and as an opportunity. The lamentable readiness of so many, in the presence of Russian, and hence indirectly of European and American economic and political problems, to make unintelligent assumptions and illogical leaps to conclusions, is a challenge to those who have the privilege and duty of assisting the rising generation to acquire capacity to deal with such matters.

There is yet another dimension in which there must be enlargement of our view. The political world in which the American citizen of the twentieth century lives is not limited to his township, his county or state, or even his American nation. He lives an international life as well, federal on a higher scale than we have been accustomed to mean by that term. He must know something of other systems of government, in order to realize under what governmental conditions his associates in the international world can co-operate with him. He is likewise under obligation to international law and a growing complex of institutions transcending the limits of his own country. Since August, 1914, we have been shocked to know that a whole great civilized nation could be found ignorant of the obligation of treaties, not as scraps of paper but as the laws of its own being.

The civics student has been coming to realize the existence of another zone to be included among the concentric areas of his political life, township, county, state, nation, as taught by his ordinary civics hitherto,—all equally his, notwithstanding different degrees of directness in his contacts with them.

This consideration is not cosmopolitan, nor is it utopian. It is a recognition of things as they are, as they have been made by the facts of the nineteenth and opening twentieth century. Recognition of the fact is not only compatible with patriotism, but is a requirement of patriotism. The nation's government cannot perform its due service to the nation and to the nation's interests individual and social, except in co-operation with other national governments; international action is indispensable to complete national life in the community of nations. After the war's devastation of international (and hence infallibly of national) well-being, in a period of reconstruction of civilization and its ideals, we are all in a fit state to enlarge our loyalties. We realize more than one *esprit de corps*, and are not content with a petty *esprit de corps*. We are members one of another in bodies that have spirits on a vaster scale; and we ourselves cannot live well, with satisfaction to our own spirits, except in harmony with our fellow-members. Injustice to Jugo-Slavia or to Italy hurts the American's feelings as well. Danger to France is danger to European peace, and we know now that America's peace also is deeply involved therein.

In the universally interesting present ideal of Americanization the civics teacher is the one primarily concerned; he is expected to have a program for the process. We may not as heretofore expect Americanism to grow up unconsciously and inevitably in the hearts and minds and conduct of Americans. Certain disappointments of the past two years have startled us. We are now called upon to take active steps carefully chosen, to arrive at a goal dimly seen but earnestly desired, a goal to which drifting will never bring us. Much of the obscurity can be cleared away if civics teachers and pupils realize not at haphazard but by rigorous analysis, what Americanism is and hence what Americanization should aim to produce. Too many demagoggs have been ready to lead us astray with appeals to the chauvinistic spirit, which, however, is more largely instinct and needs to be controlled by reason. The spirit manifested in the slogan "My country, right or wrong," and the scarcely veiled "America über Alles," may yet do fearful damage in the world, and it is America that must take immediate adequate precautions against that danger. What an unspeakable pity if we fail to learn lessons from Prussia's futile effort to Prussianize Poland, if by our policy regarding school language, immigration, and the newspaper press, we throw away our opportunity to win voluntary loyalty to a *free* America, not by exclusion, repression and the enforcement of conformity, but by the

other, we hope characteristically American, process of opening wide the door of opportunity.

Now is a critical testing time for America, and especially for her schools, and still more especially for her civics teaching. Can we rise to the realization of our ideals? Have we been talking a century and more about freedom, and shall we now try to make Americans by running all minds (political minds, at that) into one mold, however conscientiously and cleverly contrived? Heaven save us from that Prussianism! The first duty of the civics teacher in America is not to describe the concrete institutions as historically developed, nor to extol our institutions as the best in the world (which in many not superficial respects they are not), but to make some contribution to the freeing of the mind, liberating from the bond of prejudice, and also from the widely prevalent, too tempting fashion of giving a blind following to blind leaders. Our duty is to assist in developing in all classes of society men with capacity for critical judgments in public affairs, free spirits who will candidly and justly examine all things, even the most sacred or the most difficult (such, for example, as private property, the soviet system, conscientious objection to military service, the League of Nations and our relations with the German nation),—who will resolutely oppose a wrong course although it is being followed by the multitude, and who will help America both within her own boundaries and among the nations of the world, to realize that most American principle—live and let live and help live.

THE NEWER CIVIC EDUCATION

BY EDWIN A. COTTRELL

The Ohio State University

The increasing activities of state legislatures in passing acts and resolves to require instruction in citizenship is of great interest to all teachers of history. Americanization has, needless to say, received a tremendous impetus since our entrance into the Great War. Since January some twenty states have considered and passed legislation requiring more definite instruction in citizenship, English language, history, and other allied subjects. Some have required grades courses in citizenship or civics from the lowest grade through the high school. Several, including Ohio, have required that no person may teach who has not taken the oath of allegiance and promised to teach only sound American doctrines. Others require that all persons who present themselves for state board professional examinations shall have full citizenship and take the oath to support the state and federal institutions. Most of these laws are mere palliatives and do not reach the root of the trouble of undigested alienism of the past. Our schools should have been the source of good citizenship. These institutions have absolutely failed in the past in the old-fashioned civics courses to even approach good citizenship. They have very wisely shown some regard to the small child. They have given the adolescent child some institutional and constitutional information. They have, except in a few rare instances, utterly neglected to lead the adult who most needs inspiration and assistance in interpreting the new and changing conditions of political life.

The success of the Americanization movement has been extremely indifferent without a deep and well-rooted plan. Too often attempts have been made to force aliens to accept and follow wholesale our institutions and customs. We have expected them to lay aside their racial differences over night. We have urged and often forced them to suppress their foreign-language newspaper, the only source of printed information which the adults can understand, and to lay aside their native tongue, their only means of communication with their fellows. Wrong and selfish is the principle of snuffing out national traits. Our democracy needs the infusion of new blood alive to the full responsibilities which it offers, not the suppression and oppression of those who have sought shelter under its institutions. I speak for the element which is fully law-abiding and desires progress and enlightenment. That other element which refuses to abide by the law and accept the governmental system is another problem, the only solution of which is deportation.

New times demand new methods. We must carry our democracy into education, industry, commerce, religion, and other lines of work. We must inculcate the sound political doctrine which has made the democracy supreme even under the severe stress of war. We must show that in spite of mistakes in our political system we still rank with or above the other nations of the world. The economic doctrines founded upon absolutely false theories must be combated.

A recent report of the United States Bureau of Education (Bulletin 1918, No. 35), states that, "Education in the United States should be guided by a clear conception of the meaning of democracy. It is the ideal of democracy that the individual and society may find fulfillment each in the other. Democracy sanctions neither the exploitation of the individual by society, nor the disregard of the interests of society by the individual. More explicitly—the purpose of democracy is so to organize society that each member may develop his personality primarily through activities designed for the well-being of his fellow-members and of society as a whole."

"This ideal demands that human activities be placed upon a high level of efficiency; that to this efficiency be added an appreciation of the significance of these activities and loyalty to the best ideals involved; and that the individual choose that vocation and those forms of social service in which his personality may develop and become most effective. For the achievement of those ends democracy must place chief reliance upon education.

"Consequently, education in a democracy, both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends."

The commission definitely points out the following objectives as essential for modern training:

1. Health—Health instruction, to inculcate health habits, organize an effective program of physical activities, regard health needs in planning work and play, and cooperate with home and community in safeguarding and promoting health interests.
2. Command of fundamental processes—A thorough training in the fundamentals with a practical application to everyday affairs.
3. Worthy home membership—Dealing with the home as a fundamental social institution and clarifying its relation to the wider interests outside. Household arts for girls and an appreciation of the values and means of attaining a well-appointed home for the boys should be one of the ends in sight.
4. Vocation—An effective program of vocational guidance. To show a proper relation between members of a chosen vocation, between different vocational groups, between employer and employee, and between producer and consumer.

5. Civic education—To promote the common interests in the affairs of the community, state and nation. Loyalty to ideals of civic righteousness; practical knowledge of social agencies and institutions; good judgment as to means and methods that will promote one social end without defeating others; and above all methods of cordial co-operation in social undertakings. The assignment of practical problems in the community and the establishment of collective responsibility.
6. Worthy use of leisure—To equip the individual to secure from his leisure the re-creation of body, mind and spirit and the enrichment and enlargement of his personality. The school should develop social activities which tend to broaden the individual and community scope of acquaintance.
7. Ethical character—Wise selection of content and methods of study, social contacts of pupils, personal responsibility and initiative, and above all the spirit of service and the principles of true democracy.

This program rests upon the schools for inception and promotion. We must teach the child that the enforcement of law and order and justice are the supreme principles of our democracy. We have failed to do this in our overloaded curricula and thus to translate life to him. The book has been the *summum bonum*, the beginning and the end. We have failed to instill the power of observation. Our teachers are not alive to everyday activities. Few of them and even fewer parents and school committeemen realize that practical politics and governmental activities have some direct influence in our lives from before birth to long after death. Thus the great social and political problems must be solved through education, more education, and still more education. Politics is education. Education must guide politics. There can be no separation, no evasion, no substitution.

A recent critic of college instruction in political science, writing in the *New Republic*, says: "We are studying forms without proceeding to the analysis of the substance behind those forms." March 1, 1919, p. 134.) We plead guilty from the teacher of constitutions with all their cold framework to the overenthusiast on detail functional activities. We have given knowledge by description and not by contact. The newer methods of administration, systems of election and procedure, the actual processes and machinery of government are given in skeleton. The flesh, life blood and nerves of law enforcement and application are omitted. The newer and more vital instruction must emphasize the personal responsibility in governmental welfare. The personal touch, the understanding publicity, the independent thinking, the intelligent public opinion are the real ends of education.

It is rather generally understood and agreed that there are three distinct periods in civic education:

1. The fundamental civic virtues and concepts as applied to the home, the school and the neighborhood.

2. Specific instruction as to local affairs and emphasis upon functions which the government performs and which citizens enjoy as members of the larger community.
3. A more definite instruction in the functions and machinery of the local, state and federal governments.

Our states and cities are working out plans for this more thorough instruction. In most cases, however, the emphasis is still on the text book and not enough on local information. The literature for proper instruction has been meagre and scrappy. Co-operation between the schools and libraries has, except in a few instances, been absent. The relation of the library should be to furnish each teacher with such material as will enable the presentation of the necessary information in a uniform manner in the class room and establish collateral references in the library or field work. In Newark, N. J., the public library sends to each teacher an outline of a formal course with syllabus, references to the available material in the library or public offices, a short history of the city, books, reports, pamphlets, clippings, pictures, maps, etc. It also publishes leaflets for student distribution on the history, population, institutions, laws and customs of the city. The creed held before the eyes of the children reads: "The helpful kind of patriotism is the kind that grows out of the knowledge of one's town, of her strength, of her people, her property, her government, and her needs. This knowledge develops, first, an intelligent interest, then a sympathy, then a reasonable affection, a wise and temperate jealousy for her good name, a wish that she may prosper and grow more beautiful, and, finally, a desire to help her to become greater and finer, a bright and clean workshop, and a home for the best men and women."

A much larger and more comprehensive plan has been under process of formation at the Ohio State University for the use of the schools of the state. The Bureau of Governmental Research, which is the central bureau of information for the members of the League of Ohio Municipalities, is preparing to furnish the schools of all cities and towns of the state material which will be based upon a fundamental graded course from the fourth grade to the college. This material consists of studies in the fundamentals and principles of governments; outlines of forms in use; functions performed by officers, boards and commissions; reports, documents and other governmental publications; maps, ballots, charts, ordinances, charters, graphic statistics, etc.; digests of publications and civic organizations, magazines and leading articles and speeches; and a general consulting advice of a staff of specialists in governmental, economic, sociological, engineering, educational, sanitation, financial, and other fields. The formation of civic associations, college and school civic clubs, junior governments in schools will be encouraged, furnished with constitutions, plans and programs, and advised when necessary.

The basic thought in this plan is to create men and women who will look forward to a life of service in the community as a pleasure or as a career. To lead those who can grasp the newer meaning of the great democratic movement now struggling for supremacy. Its purpose is to destroy the citizen apathy in present-day political life and create an understanding citizenry of the highest type of thought, one capable of responsibility for law and order and of destroying the false doctrines of untrained and irresponsible minds, "to the end it may be a government of laws and not of men."

WHAT IS AMERICANIZATION?¹

By HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

Professor of Sociology, Oberlin College, and Director of the Democratic
Mid-European Union, Washington, D. C.

The two questions which must precede this one are: What is Americanism, and what are the human forces through which it may be attained? Americanism is, of course, a complex, but among other things it is an effort at democracy,—not perfect but still striving. If it were static and standardized, it would be comparatively easy to define an Americanization program. To most of us America is an ideal always in the process, never fulfilled. To the immigrant it is both a hope and an ideal. He came here with an expectation,—often a glorious expectation, to escape the thing hateful to all mankind,—oppressions; political, religious, economic and cultural.

Whatever Americanization may be aiming at, it must always start with the soul of the immigrant himself. What he enters into can never be separated from what he has left. If he finds what he hated or what he feared, little progress can be made toward getting him to enter the American life. If I might define America as unconsciously the average immigrant would like it to be, I would say it is an opportunity to work out freely those aspects of life in which he had previously been oppressed. Under this definition, then, Americanization is never a simple problem, but as broad as society itself. It is the problem of democracy and the problem of the world.

The real problem of society is the living together of individuals and groups in such a way that both the individual and the group can attain the highest degree of self-realization. Only in the millennium can this be fully achieved, but in the meantime we may apply such sociological laws as we know, and try to avoid what we have proved to be dangerous. At least we can try to escape some of the policies which have been so ruinous to Europe.

The assurance of superiority on the part of most native-born Americans is not justified by the facts. Pilgrim ancestors did not all come over on the Mayflower; some came in the steerage of the last ship that brought immigrants to our shores. The Puritans were English-speaking Protestants, while the recent comers have had various languages and religions, but in multitudes of cases they have been actuated to come by the same impulses.

Society is rich through heterogeneity, not through homogeneity. The difficulty of course is in making the parts function harmoniously, and to remember that, as in the best music, even discords may give richness.

¹ A paper presented at a meeting of the Ohio Academy of Social Sciences, April 18, 1919.

But the question is not a simple one. Every immigrant comes here from a peculiar environment in which he both hated and feared. This was the result of oppressions most varied in form, but they have developed in him psychoses, and "balked dispositions" that shape his character and must be understood before we can adequately deal with him. In other words, the situation is a psychological one, even psychopathic, and any effort to deal with it which overlooks this fact is doomed to failure. The first step in the problem of Americanization must be a psychological diagnosis of the particular individual or group under consideration. We must also accept the fact that there are some cases so psychopathic that they cannot be fully dissolved in this generation.

The normal human being strives for freedom both for himself and for the group with which he consciously identifies himself. The characteristic psychosis of the immigrant has resulted from the inhibition of his national freedom. The "oppressed nationality" psychosis can be presupposed in the diagnosis of each Americanization problem.

The great war was simply an outbreak resulting from this no longer to be controlled inhibition, and self-determination of nations is the only solvent in Europe. In America there are twelve millions of people whose experience has given them the same psychosis. Some form of self-expression must be devised in America to give the equivalent of self-determination. Americanization is primarily the application of a psychological method to a psychopathic problem. The diagnosis demands a knowledge of the history of the case, which will differ with each nationality. The Pole, for example, was oppressed by Greek Orthodox Russia and Protestant Prussia; the Irish by Episcopalian England; Bohemians by Catholic Austria; the Jews by Christians. In these and every other case the resultant is as definite and predictable as any that a physician ever diagnosed.

The prevailing panacea for the problems of the immigrant is teaching English and taking out naturalization papers. This is just as adequate as for the physician without examining his patients to give a blanket prescription. The first thing to do is to eliminate the cause. Inhibition of normal expression is always pathological, and oppression is just such inhibition. The fundamental step, then, must be to remove the inhibition. The most common experience has been prohibition of the use of their language.

The Pole, Bohemian, Roumanian, Croatian—in fact, the majority of the immigrants, have had some abnormal experience with their language, but our most common recommendation is for the continuation of the same method. We are in the habit of classifying all immigrants together for the same treatment. Most legislatures are attacking all languages because of the experiences with the German method of promoting their propaganda through language. But Germans have the psychosis of imperialism, not subjection, and these

are absolutely incomparable. The sooner this is understood, the sooner a fundamental error of procedure can be corrected.

When for centuries the nationality has striven under the most adverse circumstances to preserve its language, and one of them has come to America, because his language was forbidden, the way to Americanize him is certainly *not* to begin at once a continuation of the oppression, to escape which was one of his reasons for coming here. One of his ideals of America is its freedom, and we want him to enter into co-operation with this ideal. Instead, we say that we will Americanize him by making him learn English and advise him to forget his mother tongue. There is no magic in the English language to prepare for democracy. Kaiser William and Czar Nicholas knew English perfectly. It is, however, an instrument through which American ideas may be attained. On the other hand, we had in our army some most devoted soldiers who knew scarcely a word of English, but who knew that America was at war for democracy.

The attitude of the Americanizer towards English teaching should be that it is so much an advantage to the immigrant himself that no trouble is too great to make it possible for him to learn it, but let us call it *education*, not Americanization. Ignorance of English has resulted in economic exploitation and other disadvantages. Many employers have deliberately put obstacles in the way of learning English lest the employees be able to discuss their disabilities. This is the identical method used by Austria-Hungary and should be combated without respite. English makes a better American because it makes life safer for the immigrant. English the immigrant ought to learn if he can, but never with the idea that he will thereby forget his mother tongue and its associations.

Another commonly accepted panacea for Americanization is naturalization. Technically, becoming naturalized might be called becoming Americanized, but except for the professional politician, the possibility of voting is not a very omnipresent fact in our daily lives. It is a privilege, and has both value and safety in it, but its possession does not necessarily increase either intelligence or social mindedness. It is rather the agent of these. Some of the best Americans are women who are not yet enfranchised, while most unamerican things are done with the vote.

I am thankful to observe that all over the country there is growing up the notion that we have got to accept the fact that the immigrant also has something to give and we must take it. But it is difficult even after we have made up our minds to it, to really practice the principle that alien religions or strange customs are really good.

Do not expect the immigrant to forget his mother country so long as he thinks the demands of justice deserve his attention. The case of the Irish is an example of an immigrant who knows English and is generally naturalized, but who are as a group conscious as the Jugo-Slav or Italian. But the so-called "Irish question" will be set-

tled in Boston when it is settled in Ireland. The perpetuation of Irish nationalism is England, not any fault with our school system. The same situation applies to the Jew. The East Side Jewish psychosis is a national institution. Whether it tends to be Zionist or Bolshevik the source is European oppression. To understand and sympathize with this experience is the first step toward removing its separatist character. In so far as prejudice and junkerism prevails in America, the fact that those who have suffered from it in Europe can discern it here may be one of our best American assets.

Political oppression has generally been accompanied by landlordism and snobbish aristocracy, and has created an additional psychosis. Extreme radicalism loses its fearsomeness when its psychopathic origin is understood. It cannot be cured by more oppression, and some of the keenest critics of incipient oppressive institutions and attitudes are immigrants.

The war has proved that the attitudes of our foreign-born were of great advantage to America. The other night I was talking with a strapping Slav in Philadelphia who is married and has two fine children. His wife does not speak English. He had had a store in a mining town in Ohio. He was naturalized, but when he tried to enlist he was told that since he came from Austria he might be a spy, and was not wanted. He persisted and was told that since he had had experience as a mechanic, he might go to work in a shipyard, and so he put his name on file in Columbus. He had to wait three months, during which time the first Liberty Loan came off, and he went into the mines, and in two days going from room to room among the miners made them subscribe six thousand five hundred dollars for the loan. Finally he was called to Lorain, and he left his wife with the business, and he worked without his family for nearly a year. Now he is at Hogg Island. His hands are covered with callouses, but he is on the committee of his nationality for the Victory Loan in Philadelphia and he came and thanked me so cordially because I had spoken with understanding of his mother country. The war furnished an outlet for American co-operation. Shall peace close all outlets? Americanism is democratic co-operation. It is not a type but a process.

I would perpetuate the consciousness that was developed by the war and the Liberty Loan committees among the immigrants. There should be a national organization which expresses the common interest in America of groups most alien to each other. They came here to have religious, political and language freedom, and whether they be Poles and Lithuanians or Italian Irredentists and Jugo-Slavs from Fiume, America means this freedom to them.

Our relation to European problems is so close because of the immigrants in our midst, that if some method of articulating the different elements in America can be made expressive of co-operation

and self-determination in middle Europe, many problems of both continents will be settled.

For a positive program of Americanization beyond getting acquainted and trying to make the immigrant feel at home in our community, I would recommend for immediate adoption the introduction of courses in our colleges, universities and in our high schools on the culture, history, and language of the new nations of Europe. They are all worthy of study and will increase self-respect, through stimulating the respect of others. Since there are more Slavs than of any other single group, a general course in Slavonics should be given. I would make an opportunity in every high school, where there are enough to join, for the children to learn the language of the parents. They already speak it and we could enrich our intellectual life by taking advantage of the start they have and substitute it for German, which is now dropped. In most of our cities with large Italian communities there is not a single opportunity for the Italian child to learn either the language or music of Italy.

Let us get over the idea that there are elemental differences between peoples. We may be impatient over the boundary dickerings in Europe, but our own history shows that they are exactly the same as ourselves. The Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute parallels the extremest things that are happening in Europe. From 1812 until 1836 there was a constant controversy over a strip averaging $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide and consisting of 360 square miles, resulting from an error in the original survey. Michigan claimed that she should have it because, as was said in a letter to the Secretary of State, "since Michigan is a frontier state, she should be strong to protect the Union against the hordes of savages in the Northwest and the increasing power of Canada." Ohio came back in 1835 with a special session of the legislature which appropriated \$300,000 and pledged a "million free men" to take the disputed territory, because "the great and powerful city of Detroit was trying to oppress and weaken the little village of Toledo, using methods of reckless vengeance such as had never been known in the history of civilized nations." For several months there was a virtual state of war, with Michigan's National Guard mobilized at Monroe and Ohio's at Perrysburg. It was amicably settled when Michigan was given the Upper Peninsula, which was a concession more irrational than any likely to be granted in Europe.

In addition to being a problem of psychotherapy, Americanization is a problem of international politics. The psychoses are all historic and continue even in America until the cause has been removed. In my opinion, the best agency for Americanization will be the League of Nations. When the ideals of American democracy have removed the possibility of imperialistic exploitation there will be no longer need of chauvinism to combat it. When the language may be freely kept in Europe there will be no reason beyond the personal and desirable

interest in keeping it up here. The problem is big enough so that we cannot express indifference.

The problems of Americanization in New York, Cleveland and Youngstown are not going to be solved by the state legislature, but primarily by the peace conference. The local problem of the city Americanization committee is not an appropriation for teaching English, but a just arrangement in middle Europe. The problems of Ohio are world problems. Americanization is not isolation but integration.

The successful Americanizer must first get the psychological point of view. He must then know the history of his national groups. After his diagnosis he must practice the homeopathic method. Meet the immigrant more than half way with the things he wants and he will meet you two-thirds of the way with the things you want him to take.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY FOR AMERICANIZATION¹

By JULIETTE SESSIONS

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"We want to make America a vast fellowship of free men. Let us understand each other; let us get together."—Raymond Moley.

Americanization is a popular theme, but definitions of the term vary greatly. If it is an effort to enforce a body of ideas, of language and customs upon a passive or reluctant people, then it is nothing higher than Prussianization. If, on the other hand, it is a concerted effort to bring all the people living in America, whether native or foreign-born, to know and appreciate the institutions and ideals of America and to desire to have a part in the working out of those ideals, there is no movement to which one can more heartily subscribe.

While the problem is national, its solution is so much a matter of personal contact, of individual point of view, that the local community must do most of the work. It is work, however, that cannot be left to unguided and frequently unwise patriotism and haphazard methods. It is too vital to the future of the country both from the standpoint of domestic tranquillity and of international relationships. There must be careful leadership and such organization as will bring into cordial co-operation as many people as possible.

Now what are the specific purposes for which a community should be organized for Americanization?

For native-born Americans the purpose must be, first, to clarify ideas of what America is and what America stands for, and to develop an enthusiastic but intelligent patriotism; second, to interest native-born Americans in their foreign-born neighbors, (a) by the study and appreciation of the rich racial and cultural inheritances that they are bringing to America and (b) by developing personal acquaintance with these foreigners and so a realization that they are "just folks" and potential Americans of high value, "to bring about," as Dr. Caroline Hedger says, "such a readjustment of the American mind as will admit the foreigner to democracy."

For foreign-born residents the purpose must be, first, to give them a chance to get acquainted with America and Americans and American ideals by giving them (a) ample opportunities to learn the English language and to understand our institutions, (b) to meet in friendly intercourse the better class of Americans, (c) to learn by contact and observation American ideals of education and morale and American standards of living; second, to prove to them that America *does* mean opportunity and justice, by establishing ways of giving them (a) free and disinterested information, in their native

¹ A paper presented at a meeting of the Ohio Academy of Social Sciences, April 19, 1919.

languages when necessary, (b) legal aid, and (c) protection against exploitation either by Americans or by their own blood brothers.

Every community has agencies already existing that can share in meeting these enumerated aims.

First of all there are the schools, public schools everywhere and parochial in many places. The schools are the agency fitted above all others to do this work. They are already doing a great deal through the children, but have vast possibilities for work among adults. The reasons why schools are our most available Americanization agency are (a) that there is a school within easy reach of everybody, (b) they are in contact with more families than any other one institution, (c) they have a plant, an equipment, for classes and social gatherings, (d) they have available a force of instructors or leaders and the ability to plan instruction and train teachers, (e) they are supported by taxation and belong to all the people, (f) and they cannot be suspected of any ulterior motives nor accused of patronage. It must be confessed that in but few places, so far, have the schools appreciated their opportunity in this broad field or grasped the spirit or scope of Americanization. Let two illustrations suffice to prove this point.

The superintendent of schools and the board of education in a small city, the population of which in 1910 was 16.4 percent foreign-born, decided that, inasmuch as foreigners had taken little interest in night schools in previous years, it would not pay to open any this year. A few weeks later they were startled by a petition for a night school, signed by fifty Czecho-Slovaks. Thus was one school board jarred out of its passive attitude toward Americanization.

The principal of a night school in a large city went into a class of foreign-born men who had come for lessons in English and asked how many had taken out their first papers. He then summarily dismissed all the others without getting names or addresses. Thus did one school man with no grasp of this problem quench the kindling spark of Americanism in the hearts of a group of timid foreigners.

Second only to the schools in frequency and variety of contact between native and foreign-born Americans are industries. Employers of labor, superintendents and foremen have the economic welfare of a large proportion of our immigrants largely under their control. As employers are frequently also landlords, they have much to do in determining home environment and standards of living. No Americanization movement can hope to succeed without the sympathy and active support of employers. This may be given as individuals or through organizations like Chambers of Commerce and Associations of Manufacturers.

Many industries are awake to their opportunities and are showing intelligent interest in the welfare of foreign-born employees, but they are handicapped all the time by what seems to be a stubborn dis-

trust on the part of those whom they wish to help and frequently by their own spirit of patronage or compulsion which those who have sought America as the land of equality are quick to detect and resent. There must, therefore, be brought into any community organization for Americanization the foreign groups themselves. The immigrants must be made to feel that this get-together movement is as much their affair as it is that of the native-born. They will usually be found ready to come at least half way. There are clubs and nationality societies with their chosen leaders, pastors of foreign churches, and then certain foreigners in every community who are informal leaders of their people and interpreters of America to them. What these leaders think and what they advise will determine the attitude of most of the people of that race. The spirit and successful methods of Americanization in one of the cities in Ohio have been largely inspired by a naturalized citizen. In another place a most valuable piece of work is being led by a Finnish pastor and his wife.

The three agencies so far suggested exist everywhere. There are others, some of which can be aids in every community. There are public welfare agencies like health departments, recreation departments and the police force. One of the keenest newspaper men I know told me he thought the next Americanization bulletin ought to be "Americanization by the Policeman." The policeman is about the only real contact that many foreigners have with American government and his treatment in that quarter can easily be a strong factor in determining his attitude toward America. Private social welfare organizations like settlements and neighborhood houses have been most valuable Americanization agencies in the past and have still greater possibilities. Other organizations that employ home visitors should be enlisted in a community program. The public library has great possibilities and has proved itself of large value in some places, in Cleveland, for example.

Then there are miscellaneous organizations of women, many of which have this year appointed Americanization committees—the Federated Clubs, Y. W. C. A., Daughters of the American Revolution, Association of Collegiate Alumnae, College Clubs, Council of Jewish Women, and so on, the list varying with the community. Likewise, organizations of men, like the Y. M. C. A., Sons of the American Revolution, Rotary Clubs and others have Americanization programs or potentialities. In some places organized labor can be enlisted in this service and its publications are usually cordial to the movement.

Many churches are eager to go into this as a new field of "reconstruction" service. My own opinion is that usually church members can do more effective Americanization work as members of other organizations. Certain denominations find foreigners of their own faith with whom they can and should establish fruitful relations, but a suspicion of proselyting will militate not only against the success of

that particular effort, but perhaps set a whole group against a community plan. Let the churches be centers for the study of the problem and for the development of a spirit of generous patriotism among their members and then let the members do Americanization work as individuals in a general program.

Coming now to the actual organization, what shall be its nature? Plainly, there must be no new society with a membership to throw a shadow of exclusiveness over the work. We must rather so plan that the program be as broadly inclusive as possible. The simplest thing to suggest, but not always the simplest thing to bring about, is a committee of delegates from these enumerated agencies. The most successful Americanization programs in Ohio are each being backed by a committee of this nature, though its composition varies with special community conditions.

Let me describe a few of these committees already in operation in the state. In Cleveland the Committee on Education of the Chamber of Commerce was enlarged two years ago into the Cleveland Americanization Committee of the Mayor's Advisory War Board and a Woman's Americanization Committee combined with it. This large committee contains representatives of most of the agencies enumerated, but the actual work is carried on by a small executive committee. This executive committee has as members an assistant superintendent of schools, a member of the Chamber of Commerce, a judge who is also a naturalized citizen, a member of the public library staff, and representatives from social welfare workers and women's clubs. An Executive Secretary with assistants is employed, an information bureau maintained and many citizenship classes are conducted. This work has been financed by the War Chest, while the school board finances classes in English in schools, factories and halls and some social center work in school buildings.

In Cincinnati the Americanization Executive Committee consists of eight members, two from the schools, two from the Chamber of Commerce, two from the Immigrant Welfare Committee (an organization of some years' standing), one representative of foreign-born citizens and a representative of the women's clubs. The work there is financed through the Council of Social Agencies, while the War Chest has remodeled an old building which, known as "American House," is the chief center for Cincinnati Americanization activities. A director and assistants are employed by the committee and the school board has a generous budget for classes in English and citizenship and social center work.

In Akron a big mass meeting was held and a citizens' Committee of One Hundred was chosen. It organized by choosing an executive committee, the chairman of which was the head of a great industry; the secretary, director of the International Institute of the Y. W. C. A.; the treasurer, the educational director in another great industry,

while the executive secretary is an assistant superintendent of schools and he directs the work.

In Columbus a committee of about thirty was chosen at a public meeting of interested people. Each represented some group interested in Americanization. This committee organized by choosing a chairman, vice-chairman, a secretary and treasurer and decided that the executive committee should be these officers plus the chairmen of several standing committees to be appointed by the chairman.

In another place the chairman of the local Council of National Defense appointed a committee with the school superintendent as its head. In other places a Y. M. C. A. committee has been widened by getting co-operation from other organizations, and in others the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense has been back of some Americanization work. The limited success of these later committees proves the advisability of one with wider backing.

Whatever its organization and however it is financed, the functions of an Americanization Committee should be about as follows:

First, it should survey the community and find out what work is needed, using as a basis for this survey the census and whatever reliable information already exists, adding to it what new survey is needed. A great defect in many Americanization programs is that the work has been started to meet supposed conditions which were often quite far removed from the facts.

Second, it should conduct a campaign of education in Americanization and of publicity for the spirit and aims of Americanization.

Third, the committee must correlate the work of existing agencies, acting as a clearing house. Fourth, it must plan new work, guide new agencies and discourage ill-considered efforts. Last, it should keep in touch with national and state movements and be ready to pass on local experience for the help of the larger movement.

In this discussion I have had in mind only a town or city organization. In many Ohio counties, notably the mining counties, the problem calls for a county committee. Many of the foreign settlements of an Americanization movement would hardly be possible without persons outside, and one county committee might well direct work in several such villages.

Money for the work has been difficult to obtain in many places. School boards have had no funds to use and War Chests have not always seen this work as war work. If the committee is largely a correlating agency, no very large amount is needed, as many projects are financed by the organizations that are pushing them. In all places of size, however, a director or executive secretary must be employed and there must be maintained a headquarters and one or more information centers for foreigners. In smaller places where the direction of the work can be by volunteers, there must be provision for stenographic work and telephone service and some well-understood place or person to whom foreigners can appeal for information and advice.

SURVEY OF HIGH-SCHOOL TEXTS IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT

By FRANCIS W. COKER

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The task of reviewing text-books in civil government is complicated by one special difficulty. It is that at present the field in question is not so definitely marked as formerly. The earlier works on American Government (e.g., Fiske's *Civil Government in the United States*, or Hinsdale's *American Government*) described the composition and structure of American government; they emphasized constitutional and legal phases of the subject, with scant consideration for governmental activity and extra-legal political factors. The reaction from this exclusive or predominant attention to governmental forms is obvious in practically all recent text-books. These later books devote much attention to the services performed by national, state and local government, to the actual workings of governmental machinery, and to the interworkings between government and outside economic and social groups.

The difficulty of the task of making up a list of text-books in civil government or civics lies in the fact that this change in emphasis is carried so far in some books as to take them wholly or partly out of the field of government proper. That is, some of these books devote so much attention to the social and economic background of government and the social and economic problems and functions of government, that little space is left for the description of government itself; others take as their field social or community relations generally, discussing all phases of social obligations and all forms of co-operative activity and responsibility; and still others, based on the assumption that only the local and familiar can be adapted to the interest and capacity of the high-school pupil, give scant attention to the organs and activities of national and state government. Fortunately, we have a number of good text-books which successfully avoid the extremes either of narrowness or breadth in their fields of study. While keeping clearly within the field of American government, they give adequate attention to governmental activities, to the practical workings of government, to social and economic problems and influences in their relations to government, and to local problems. Another mark of the newer text-book is seen in the efforts to make the subject-matter generally interesting and vivid by the employment of a less formal style of writing, by the frequent discussion of current political happenings by way of exemplification, and by the use of pictures (chiefly photographic), questions and topics for special study, and reference lists. In close relation to this feature it may be said

that the newer books show generally a more conscious purpose of cultivating civic opinion and initiative on the part of the pupils.

Though most of the changes just indicated, in point of view and method in the teaching of civil government, are of the right sort, the writer ventures to offer to teachers in this field a word of caution with regard to the possibly exaggerated application of some of the tendencies mentioned. In the first place, a few recent text-books, as well as some recent reports on the methods of teaching, seem, in their reaction from the dryness and formalism of earlier methods, to go to needless extremes in the way of popularization. They tend to depend so much upon the familiar or the striking and picturesque that too little in the way of substantial and discriminating information is supplied. In their efforts to arouse interest their aim seems to be that of training the pupil to talk freely about political questions rather than to prepare him to think accurately and responsibly about them. We must not forget that interest without knowledge is as futile as knowledge without interest. Moreover, experience readily shows that no particular gain in interest is secured through loose or indirect rather than precise and direct statements. And there seems to be no valid ground for the view that the study of American government must begin with the local and familiar and proceed, upward and outward, to the national and "remote." Experience will doubtless support the opinion, expressed by several of the authors considered below, that the pupil's interest is not aroused any more easily or naturally by a study of family obligations, neighborhood activities, services of the policemen and firemen, dangers from the fly and the mosquito, than by a study of the Senate, the President, and government control of railways or labor.¹

Ashley, Roscoe Lewis, *The New Civics: A Text-book for Secondary Schools*. New York, Macmillan Co., 1917. 407 pp. \$1.20.

This book makes an attempt to comprehend within one volume a text on civil government and a text on social ethics. Part I, "The Citizen and Society," constituting about one-fourth of the volume, comprises a discussion of social and individual rights and obligations, education, racial and geographical features of the American nation, some general facts of social, political and economic organization, and "the American home and family." Part II, "Government and the Citizen," occupying about one-fifth of the volume, deals with governmental and political organization in the United States. Part III, "Some Public Activities," deals with governmental activities, chiefly national. Part II and III constitute together a good, fairly complete text-book in civil government. The style is clear and the design of the book is

¹ Among recent articles on the teaching of civics, the following two seem the most informing and illuminating: Judd, C. H., "The Teaching of Civics," in *School Review*, September, 1918, pp. 511-532; and "Instruction in Civics in New York City High Schools," in *Municipal Research* (Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City), No. 89, September, 1917, 39 pp.

worked out carefully. The description of the national government is inadequate, being a rather compressed summary of facts. The chapters on governmental activities are very useful and make the book a valuable one for a teacher's collection. The references at the chapter endings do not point to the most useful readings, and the questions are not of the most stimulating type. The special topics and studies, followed by appropriate references, are well prepared.

Beard, Charles A., and Beard, Mary Ritter. *American Citizenship*. New York, Macmillan Co., 1914. 330 pp. \$1.12.

An object of this book is to avoid the limitations found, on the one hand, in text-books which are formal and legal, and, on the other hand, in those which are sociological in character and in those which treat civics "as a mere community study." The last-mentioned method is characterized as "both superficial and anti-social, in so far as it stresses street-cleaning, gas plants, and local charitable institutions to the almost total exclusion of the fundamental outside influences which condition the life of the community." With respect to the view that the approach should be through local government and community life, the authors have this to say: "We have come to the conclusion, on carefully weighing the matter, that this argument is largely illusory, that the concreteness and simplicity are more imaginary than real. The federal postoffice is as concrete as the town-hall and the ways of Congress are not more mysterious than the devious methods of the town caucus. Then take the family with which the apostles of simplicity would fain begin. Is there in all the world anything more complex than the really important truths about this ancient institution?"

The book is divided into three parts: "to show (1) which of our personal needs are beyond complete individual satisfaction and involve governmental action; (2) how the great branches of the government, national, state, and local, are organized to deal with these needs (including parties and elections), and (3) what the government now undertakes in recognition of these needs."

The style is excellent—precise, vivid, interesting, and seems to present the right admixture of definite information and stimulation of interest and judgment. The illustrations are useful and unusual. Reading references at the close of chapters are few and well selected. Questions at the close of chapters, and research questions, at the end of the volume, arranged by chapters, are appropriate and useful. The book is better than any other high-school text in the treatment of general conceptions, of activities of the federal government, and of organization of state and local government. It is decidedly one of the few best text-books and should be in the possession of every teacher and in every school library.

Boynton, Frank David. *School Civics: An Outline Study of the Origin and Development of Government and the Development of Political Institutions in the United States.* Boston, Ginn & Co., 1916 (revised edition). 401 pp. \$1.36.

This work is distinctly of the older type of text-book, particularly in its slight consideration of governmental activities. Moreover, despite the date of revision for the present edition, the text is in many places out of date in its treatment of subjects which it includes; and many important recent changes and tendencies in some fields—as, for example, taxation, legislative procedure, forms of ballot and nomination, power of courts in relation to legislation—are omitted or are given inadequate mention. The style is not interesting. The "questions on the text" follow the text so faithfully as to be of little value, and the references are not the most serviceable.

Dole, Charles F. *The New American Citizen: The Essentials of Civics and Economics.* Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1918. 371 pp. \$1.00.

The object of this book is to enable "the youth to know the ethics of good citizenship." In dominant interest and viewpoint it is similar to the texts by Dunn and Hughes, reviewed below, but it is less specific and informational than those two works. It is rather a discussion of general policies, problems, defects, tendencies and remedies, in the fields of political, economic, and social relations. It is sound and suggestive in its statement of general principles and in its broader descriptions and interpretations. There are some excellent and unusual illustrations, but no aids in the way of references or questions. It is probably too general in its treatment to serve as a satisfactory text-book. It is a valuable volume for a school library.

Dunn, Arthur William. *The Community and the Citizen.* New York, D. C. Heath & Co., 1914 (revised edition). 279 pp. \$1.00.

This is one of the earliest (first edition, 1907) and best known texts of its type: the type which places emphasis upon the relations—present and future—of the pupil to the community, with the view of preparing and stimulating him to co-operative activity in his community in all its spheres—class, school, family, neighborhood, city, state, nation. After an introductory discussion of the general features of family and community relations and obligations, the greater portion of the work is devoted to a discussion of the services rendered by the community (chiefly through governmental agencies) in relation to health, life, property, business relations, education, aesthetics, and religion. Five brief chapters at the end are given to a description of the government—rural, city, state and national. The information presented in these chapters is well selected and presented, though too brief to convey to the student an adequate understanding of the subject. The book as a whole is carefully and interestingly written, and is well illustrated. Each chapter is followed by

excellently prepared questions for investigation and by comprehensive and useful references.

Fess, S. D. *Civics of Ohio*. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1914 (revised edition). 165 pp. \$0.50.

This book presents a summary description of the organs and functions of state and local government in Ohio. As revised it embodies changes resulting from the constitutional amendments of 1912 and legislative enactments of 1913. It is written in rather stereotyped style, with little effect at adaptation to the interest and curiosity of school pupils. It is generally reliable in its presentation of facts, though it is a mistake to have allowed to remain in the revised edition the statement (page 11) that "the governor has the right to veto a part, as well as the whole, of a bill," and the statement (page 18) that an amendment submitted by the legislature becomes a part of the constitution if "favored by a majority of the voters."

Garner, James W. *Government in the United States: National, State, and Local*. New York, American Book Co., 1917. 410 pp. \$1.00.

This book (the first edition of which appeared in 1911) was one of the earliest to introduce emphasis upon the dynamics of government and upon political party organs and activities. As compared with most recent books, it gives slight consideration to the activities of state and local government. The style is interesting and uniformly clear and direct. The references are good and the "research questions" are unusually useful, handy, and interesting. A serviceable feature is in the lists, at the end of each chapter, of documentary and illustrative material, most of which can be readily obtained without cost. This is one of the best text-books; at a few points it could be distinctly improved by further revision to bring it up to date. It is especially good in the treatment of city government, elections, composition and procedure of Congress, fiscal and commercial policies of the national government, presidential powers, and citizenship. It should be in the possession of every teacher and in every school library. The book is published with a supplement on Ohio government (42 pp., revised to 1913); this presents an accurate summary of the main facts of state and local government in Ohio, and should be of value to teachers who do not otherwise find the essential information available.

Guitteau, William Backus. *Government and Politics in the United States. A Text-book for Secondary Schools*. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1915 (revised edition), 472 pp. \$1.32. Briefer edition (1917), 316 pp., \$1.20.

The former of these two texts is the longest text-book offered for use in a high-school course in government. The latter was prepared to meet the objections that the length of the former made it unsuitable for high-school use. The abridgement is effected in part through the omission of historical details, though also through the omission of the important chapters on "Police Power" and "Public Charities."

In other respects the two books are substantially the same, and the review which follows applies to each. The apportionment of space to national, state and local government, and between organization and functions, is very good. Inadequate treatment is given to some of the newer features of American government and politics, such as direct legislation, the short ballot, executive leadership. The style is clear, precise, and direct. There are very good illustrations, and, following each chapter, exceptionally good questions and exercises. The appendix contains a useful list of illustrative materials. The Ohio edition contains a supplement (41 pp.) giving an excellent outline, comprehensive and detailed, of state and local government in Ohio.

Hughes, R. O. *Community Civics*. Boston, Allyn & Bacon, 1917. 417 pp. \$1.25.

This book is similar, in object and scope, to the volume by Dunn. The treatment is fuller at most points and follows a different order. The study of local community problems—rural and urban, is followed by the treatment of the "mechanism of our government—national, state, and local"; and the last half of the volume is devoted to "problems of national scope"—financial, economic, industrial, and social. The style is clear, vivid, and interesting, and the illustrations are numerous and attractive. Stimulating questions are interspersed through the body of the text, and further questions, rather stereotyped in character, are given at the close of chapters. References are omitted altogether, with the surprising explanation that "the small school can make no use of elaborate book lists, and the school with large library facilities does not need them." It is a valuable volume for a school library, and is probably the most serviceable text-book of its special type.

James, J. A., and Sanford, A. H. *Government in State and Nation*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917 (revised edition). 307 pp. \$1.00.

This is a compact book, comprising detailed, essential information on most of the subjects that should be covered, though giving relatively slight attention to some of the newer tendencies in American government. The style is clear, concise, and summary. The part on the national government is rather a careful annotation of the constitution than a description of the actual government. The questions and references at the close of each chapter are carefully planned and useful. There are no illustrations. This is a carefully written and reliable text-book, but its style and method do not seem well calculated to visualize the subject matter or arouse the interest of the pupils.

Lapp, John A. *Our America; the Elements of Civics*. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1917. 328 pp. \$1.50.

The plan of this book is, first, to describe the common needs out of which the necessity for government arises; secondly, to give a con-

crete description of the ways in which these common needs are met by government—national, state and local—and, finally, to describe the form and workings of governmental agencies through which these needs are supplied. In the two latter sections, the main division is according to function. That is, for each governmental activity, the part which each government—national, state, and local (rural, urban)—plays, is shown. And in the description of governmental agencies, for each type, national, state, and local organs are described; for example, in a chapter on law-making bodies, congress, state legislatures, city councils, and county and township councils are successively explained as to their compositions; and the ensuing chapter discusses, in similar order, procedure in these bodies. The author justifies this method as an attempt to "avoid the confusion which comes when national, state, and local governments are studied separately." It seems doubtful whether such an organization of material will clarify the subject for a pupil who is confused by the other method. The chapters on governmental agencies and methods are inadequate, with the exception of two clear and illuminating chapters on "How the Courts Work" and "Where the Money Comes From." The chapters on governmental activities are full of useful and interesting information clearly presented. The few illustrations are good. The questions for investigation are probably not especially serviceable for either pupil or teacher. The brief lists, under the heading, "Where to Write for Further Information," following each chapter, should prove to be useful.

Magruder, Frank Abbott. *American Government. With a Consideration of the Problems of Democracy.* New York, Allyn & Bacon, 1917. 455 pp. \$1.25.

This book combines in a satisfactory manner the description of framework, functions, and political and social problems of government. "The treatment of the National government precedes that of State and Local governments, because the National government is the general type followed by all the states; because it is simpler to treat the State governments by showing that they exercise all those powers not delegated to the National government; and because it is easier to arouse the students' interest by approaching the larger subject first." The style is precise, clear, and interesting. The book lists at the chapter endings are brief and well selected, but contain no references to chapters or pages. The "questions on the text" and "questions for discussion" are unusually well selected and phrased. Excellent use is made of diagrams, maps, illustrations, tabular outlines at the chapter endings, and footnotes for the explanation of terms. The appearance of the book is unusually good. It is decidedly one of the best text-books. Where not used as a text-book it will be found especially useful, as reference for teacher or pupil, in the parts dealing with powers of Congress, the courts, civil rights, elections, and

local government. It should be in every school and teachers' collection.

Tufts, James H. *The Real Business of Living*. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1918. 468 pp. \$1.50.

This excellent book is a work of broad scope and purpose, within "the field of public morality and civic duty." It "attempts to show the origins of our institutions and standards of our business and political ideals. It makes large use of the objective expression of these in law and government; but it also aims to point out the tasks in responsibility, public spirit, fair dealing, city planning, and further development of liberty, co-operation, and democracy." At all points the discussion is profound and practical, philosophic and concrete, and inspired by an unusual breadth and keenness of social sympathy. Part II—"Problems of Co-operation and Right in Business"—is peculiarly valuable; for probably no other work, in such simple style, goes so clearly to the heart of problems concerning good faith and responsibility in business and industry, concerning the control of business and industry in the interest of public welfare, and concerning the questions of a fair price, a fair wage, and fair and unfair competition. The book is obviously not a text in civil government. The writer is not prepared to judge whether it is adaptable for any existing high-school course, or whether it may not be slightly above the comprehension of the average high-school student. It should be read at some stage by every student and teacher of any branch of the social sciences. The book is without illustrations or references, and does not need them.

Woodburn, James Albert, and Moran, Thomas Francis. *The Citizen and the Republic. A Text-book in Government*. New York, Longmans Green & Co., 1918. 396 pp. \$1.50.

The authors "believe that the schools should study the community and such 'new civics' as the changing times call for, and especially that they should give attention to current history and present-day problems of democracy; but it is equally important not to neglect certain aspects of the old established order. It may be well to set pupils to the laboratory method of studying the actual life of our city communities,—how milk and water are supplied, how public health is preserved, how the streets are kept clean, how the taxes are raised and used, and how the schools are sustained. But to limit a high-school course in civics to such a field of study is to commit a great wrong to young people who are under training for citizenship." This wise conception of the proper scope and balance in the teaching of civil government is successfully followed out by the authors. However, the arrangement of chapters is unsatisfactory and illogical; the chapter on state government is followed by one on the territories, the latter by one on a general consideration of forms and functions of government, and this by chapters on the constitution,

political parties, and then the departments of the national government; discussion of the functions of national and state government is distributed among chapters II, III, and XVII. The treatment of subjects is generally thorough and interesting, though with a slight tendency at some points to a too stereotyped style. The references are extensive, definite, and well selected. The "topics and queries" tend to be too obvious to be of much help to the teacher. There are exceptionally good illustrations and useful maps and charts. This is a good text-book and the two chapters on political parties are especially good.

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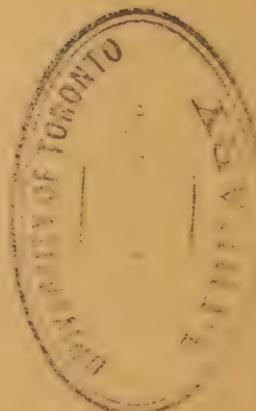
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*Issued in January, March,
May, and November*

BULLETIN No. 15



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The Ohio History Teachers' Association supplies the JOURNAL to all its members.

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The Ohio History Teachers' Journal

Official Organ of The Ohio History Teachers' Association.

Issued in January, March, May, and November.

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NOVEMBER, 1919

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The annual dues of The Ohio History Teachers' Association are one dollar a year, and should be sent to Carl Wittke, Room 207, University Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus.

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THE SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE OHIO HISTORY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

The Ohio History Teachers' Association held its sixth annual meeting at Ohio State University, Friday and Saturday, November 14 and 15. There were three sessions: Friday evening at the Archæological Hall, Saturday morning at the Archæological Hall, and Saturday afternoon for luncheon, business and addresses at the Chittenden Hotel. The meeting was attended by thirty-seven members of the Association, whose names are listed in another place in this number.

The first session, Friday evening, began with a paper by Mr. R. H. Erwine, of Springfield High School, on "The Social Utility of History." This paper was discussed by a number of members: Mr. Monks of Cleveland, Miss Stivers of Dayton, Mr. Siebert of the State University, Mr. Knight of the State University, Mr. Johnson of Cleveland, and Mr. Bradley of Toledo University. The discussion developed the ideas of the paper on the value of history teaching for training in citizenship and for "Americanization" work, especially among the foreign-born.

Mr. Carl Washburn of North High School, Columbus, read the second paper: "Defects in College Teaching of History from the High School Teacher's Point of View." This paper, of lively interest to an audience of both high school and university teachers, was admirably discussed from the standpoint of the university teacher by Professor Knight of the State University. Other members participating in the discussion were: Mr. Martz of Columbus, Miss Stiver of Dayton, Miss Aborn of Oberlin, Mr. Monks of Cleveland, Mr. Latourette of Dennison University, and Miss Brown of Dayton.

In the Saturday morning session, the first paper was read by Miss Orbison, of the Glenville High School, Cleveland, on "The Use of Magazines in the Teaching of History in the High School." Among those who participated in the discussion of the paper and contributed suggestions from their own experiences were: Miss Stivers of Dayton, Mr. Siebert of the State University, Mrs. Skinner of Pomeroy, Mr. Neeb of Columbus, Mrs. Pence of Lima, Mr. Bradley of Toledo University, Mr. Martz of Columbus, and Mr. Latourette of Denison University.

Mr. McNeal, newly appointed editor of the JOURNAL, made a brief statement of the aims of the JOURNAL and the plans for the year.

The paper on "A Suggested Program for Teaching America's Part in the Great War, for High Schools" by Mr. Kohl of Woodward Technical High School, Toledo, was read by the secretary. The final paper

of this session was on "The Use of Geography in the Teaching of History," by Mr. Forest I. Blanchard, instructor in Economics at the State University. It was discussed from the floor by Mr. Neeb of Columbus, Mrs. Skinner of Pomeroy, Mr. Martz of Columbus, and Mr. Monks of Cleveland.

A delightful concluding session was held at the Chittenden Hotel over luncheon. The business meeting included the report of Mr. Wittke, the secretary-treasurer, and the election of officers. The report of the Nominating Committee that the officers of last year be re-elected was unanimously adopted by the Association. Mr. Siebert then spoke of the origin, past history and prospects of the Association. The annual meeting ended with the presidential address of Mr. Latourette of Denison University, "The Missionary Factor in Recent History."

The following list of members present at the annual session includes the names of those who signed the roll and of others who neglected to sign, but whose presence was noted. It is very desirable that all who attend the meetings should sign the roll, in order that the published list may be complete and accurate.

Marjorie Aborn	Oberlin
Jessie A. Alberson	Columbus
C. S. Boucher	Columbus
Glenn D. Bradley	Toledo
Eleanor Brown	Dayton
Laura J. Connell	Bexley
Marcella L. Crain	Columbus
R. H. Erwine	Springfield
Helen M. Gallen	Columbus
Christine Houston	Marysville
Catherine Huntington	Columbus
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George W. Knight	Columbus
John R. Knipfing	Columbus
Edgar A. Kolb	Columbus
W. H. Green	Westerville
Kenneth S. Latourette	Granville
Edgar H. McNeal	Columbus
Velorus Martz	Columbus
William J. Monks	Cleveland
George F. Neeb	Columbus
R. H. Oman	Columbus
Inez Orbison	Cleveland
E. T. Osborn	Hebron
G. J. Pence	Lima
Clarence Perkins	Columbus

Drusilla M. Reilly.....	Lima
E. H. Roseboom.....	Columbus
Marion E. Schlesinger.....	Dayton
W. H. Siebert.....	Columbus
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Grace H. Stivers.....	Dayton
Annetta Walsh.....	Columbus
Carl D. Washburn.....	Columbus
G. A. Washburn.....	Columbus
Carl Wittke.....	Columbus
George A. Wood.....	Columbus

THE MISSIONARY FACTOR IN RECENT HISTORY

By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

Denison University

The part of Christian missions in late Roman and medieval times is a familiar story. The conversion of the ancient world, the growth of the Latin and Eastern churches, the gradual spread of the Christian organization among Teutonic and Slavic peoples, and the work of the monks—the advance agents and bulwarks not only of the church, but of Mediterranean civilization—hold much of significance and importance for all students of history. Similarly well recognized is the work of Catholic missionaries during the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The place of the missionary motive in the explorations of Prince Henry the Navigator, Columbus, and their successors, the extensive labors of the great orders of the church in Latin America and the Philippines which resulted in at least the nominal adherence to the Roman communion not only of the European settlers, but of practically all the native populations, in the amelioration of the lot of the conquered, and in a noteworthy, if imperfect, advance in civilization, are part of the commonplaces of historical teaching and writing. So, too, are the travels and self-sacrificing efforts of the French priests in Canada, and the less-talked-of but fully as noteworthy endeavors of the missionary orders, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Lazarists, and their confreres, and of the Paris Society for Foreign Missions, in India, Siam, Annam, Japan, China, Africa, and the other regions where Catholic powers had colonies or trade.

Not so generally recognized but in many respects fully as important has been the missionary factor in the history of the past century and a quarter. One of the outstanding features of these years, as we all well know, has been the spread of Occidental commerce and political power and with these, of Western civilization. The causes and main steps of this “expansion of Europe,” as we have chosen to call it, are among the commonplaces of even our school manuals. For some reason, however, perhaps because of the prevalent discounting of the religious factor, or the popular and rather general prejudices against missions, or perhaps because of the emphasis which our generation places on economic, political and social factors, our historians have had little to say of the religious features of the movement. These have been by no means unimportant, however, and may in future centuries receive a far larger proportion of attention than they do now. Catholic and Protestant agents are to be found in practically every non-Christian country of the globe. Catholic Christians in China number over one and three-quarter millions and Protestant Christians about six hundred thousand. The Christian community in

India is growing much more rapidly than the population. In the Pacific islands, many entire native tribes are nominally Christian. Christian schools, hospitals, churches, and cathedrals are among the most prominent objects in many cities in China, India, and the Near East, and are to be found not only in these centers, but in the most remote districts of Asia and Africa. Christian missions are having a profound, if often unrecognized place in the Europeanization of these great regions. Fully as important and still less frequently noticed has been the way in which the church has followed the migrations of European peoples into the Western hemisphere, especially the United States and Canada, and into South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

There are certain outstanding features of Christian missions in the past century and a quarter which must first be noticed if any intelligent appreciation is to be had of their part in recent history. In the first place one must remark the leading position that the French have held in Catholic missions. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Spaniards and Portuguese led in the extension of the church, but in the eighteenth century the French began to dispute this supremacy and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries they have been the unquestioned leaders in Catholic missions work in non-Christian lands. *L’Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*, organized in Lyons in 1882 during the Catholic revival under the restored Bourbons, has probably been the greatest agency for financing the missions of the Catholic Church and has spread until it has branches in all lands. The French government assumed a protectorate of Catholic missionaries in various countries, a position which it has sought to retain even after the disestablishment of the church in France. This protectorate has often been used to further French political interests and the church's activities have at times had a political significance. Reprehensible as this fellowship of church and state may seem to many Protestants it is well to recall that it is no novel feature, but that it was characteristic of missions in medieval times and of the work of the Spaniards and Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the next place, the past century and a quarter have been marked by the beginning of active missionary work by the various Protestant communions. During the early days of Protestantism but little effort was made to propagate the faith in non-Christian lands. Many leaders were distinctly opposed to such work, others ignored even the possibility of it, and only a few isolated and numerically weak enterprises were undertaken. Here and there a John Eliot, or a Mayhew, or a David Brainerd labored for the North American Indians. Only these, with a few other rare souls, such as the Pietists in Germany, where there was a center of missionary influence at the University of Halle, and the Moravians, stimulated by Zinzendorf, that aristocratic flower of Pietism, took seriously the claims of non-Christian peoples upon the

church. The Dutch had carried on extensive missions in their possessions, but these were largely political in their object and were almost entirely sterile in permanent results. Far from actively favoring Christian missions, as did the Catholic monarchs, Protestant princes were with a few exceptions either indifferent or opposed to Christian propaganda in their trans-oceanic domains. The British East India Company long prohibited or discouraged missions in the regions which it controlled. With the end of the eighteenth century, however, there came a change in the Protestant world. The humanitarian movement in England which attacked slavery and various social abuses, and the evangelical movement which followed the work of Whitefield and the Wesleys led to an awakening of missionary interest among a few earnest men. In 1792 the English Baptists led the way, and under the leadership of Carey formed a missionary society and began work in India. In 1799 the Church Missionary Society was formed by the evangelicals of the established church. The London Missionary Society, at first undenominational but later the organ of the English Congregationalists, was organized in 1795. The movement spread to America and in 1810 there was formed the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at first, like its London prototype, undenominational in its character, but in time also exclusively Congregational. The American Baptists followed with a society in 1814. The enthusiasm of these and other pioneers proved contagious; before the end of the nineteenth century practically every Protestant denomination had its societies for home and foreign extension and the bulk of the clergy and laymen were at least nominally committed to their maintenance. In the United States the movement had from the start been largely in the hands of college students and graduates, and the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, which was organized in 1886 under the inspiration of Dwight L. Moody, has helped to recruit candidates for the various societies from our institutions of higher learning.

As a result of these various societies and leaders Protestant missions are today more prominent and active than those of the Catholic Church. While the latter still counts more communicants in mission lands, these are not increasing as rapidly as are those of the Protestants, and in educational, medical, and social work, in the initiative of the native Christians and in that willingness to originate and test new methods which is an indication of constructive life, they are notably inferior. The causes of this activity of the Protestant churches we need not here examine. They may in part arise from the fact that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries so much of the commercial, industrial, and political leadership has been in the hands of predominantly Protestant powers, but there are almost certainly other reasons, some of them inherent in Protestantism itself.

Protestant missions have in turn a number of characteristics which demand at least passing mention. In the first place, while influenced

at times by their national affiliations, Protestant missions are not as closely connected with the political activities of their respective nations as have been those of the Catholic Church. This is due in part, perhaps, to the fact that many, if not most, of the bodies maintaining such work, had no official relations with the state. It is true that for many years the English societies were the leaders of Protestant activity in non-Christian lands, and that England was at the same time the greatest commercial and colonizing power. Except for the indirect influence which missionaries assert in favor of their native land, however, English missionaries have, as a rule, not been the means of extending British political influence, and the British state has usually maintained an attitude of religious neutrality, particularly in India. The few exceptions to this have mostly been in Africa.

Leadership in Protestant missions has of late years been passing into the hands of Americans, and it looks as though their predominance would be increasingly marked during the next few years. Missions have at times favored American political influence, notably so in Hawaii, where many of the more prominent men in the community are the descendants of missionaries, and in China and the Near East where the good will which exists toward the United States is in part a by-product of American missionary work. There are extensive American establishments in India and other British possessions, however, where the political control of the United States will in all probability never follow and where American commerce is negligible. Even in China and the Near East, where American missions are particularly strong, American commerce is relatively unimportant.

A last feature of Protestant missions which we need notice is the emphasis placed on humanitarian, educational, and literary activity. Protestants have not, of course, been negligent of the so-called evangelistic work, the preparation of souls for the world to come, and the building up of a native church which is other-worldly in its outlook. They have, however, given relatively more attention to these other phases of work than have their Catholic brethren. At their inception Protestant missions were so closely connected with humanitarian movements that it is not strange that they should lay emphasis upon hospitals and movements against such social evils as suttee, foot-binding, and the opium and slave traffic. The traditional attitude of Protestants, too, makes it natural for them to lay stress on schools and colleges, upon the translation of the Bible, and the creation of both a religious and a progressive secular literature in the languages of the peoples to whom they minister.

Of chief interest, however, are the results of missionary effort, both Catholic and Protestant. First of all, it is very apparent that missions have been potent in preparing the way for the Europeanization of the globe. Missionaries have often been explorers, the very vanguard of European peoples. Such was the case in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and it did not cease to be true

in the nineteenth century. The Catholic missionaries, for instance, were the first to make known to the Occident great sections of China, and the name of Livingstone is almost synonymous with the opening of Africa. Books, letters, and articles by missionaries have through the years been one of the chief means of acquainting the West with non-European lands and peoples and so of stimulating and facilitating intercourse and settlement. In establishing churches, moreover, missionaries have both consciously and unconsciously brought to their converts Occidental institutions, customs, methods of thought, religious ideals, and moral standards. Hard as the missionary may try to adapt his faith to meet local conditions and to prevent it from being an exotic, the change involved in becoming Christians is revolutionary and the standards which the missionary holds up to his followers are necessarily not only those of the Orient of the Bible, but of Europe and America. The missionary by his very presence, since he is usually in European garb and frequently lives in a European house and maintains European customs, becomes to the entire community, both Christian and non-Christian, a living example of the West. It is fortunate on the whole that this is so. The merchant and the diplomat, and especially those traders who are usually the vanguard of the West, all too frequently present to non-European peoples the worst side of Occidental civilization. The missionary, on the other hand, represents the better phases of that culture, and has an immeasurable influence in ameliorating the contact between his own and other races.

The missionary's westernizing influence is particularly strong in his educational and literary activities. One of his first acts is to establish schools, at first those of primary grade and later those of secondary, collegiate, and even university rank. In these schools are taught not only the native literatures but also Western science and history, and the English, French, German, and even Latin languages and literatures. Famous in their respective lands are such institutions as the industrial schools at Lovedale in Africa, Roberts College at Constantinople, the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, Madras Christian College in India, St. Johns University at Shanghai, the Jesuit establishments in that same city, and the Doshisha at Kyoto. These are but selected examples of scores of others scattered throughout the world, most of them capstones of a group of primary and secondary schools. Yung Wing, who was the first Chinese to graduate from an American college, and who was responsible for the effort of the Peking government to send boys to the West for education, was the product of a mission school. Alexander Duff, the Scotch missionary, in no small degree helped to shape the basic ideas of that government educational system in India which has been so potent in training the youth of that country in Western learning. Missionaries have often given languages their first written form and have translated or composed not only in these but in such ancient literary languages as

those of India and China both religious and secular works. The Christian Literature Society of China, for example, has had as its object not only the production and publication of religious books, but of all classes of wholesome works which would serve to introduce the educated classes to the better elements of Occidental knowledge and ideals.

Missions, moreover, have had important social and economic results. They have usually led in the introduction of non-European peoples to modern medical science. In China, for example, most of the hospitals and until recently all of the medical schools on Western lines have been conducted by missionaries. Movements toward public sanitation and health education have either been begun or encouraged by them. They have frequently borne the brunt of distributing famine relief and have initiated ameliorative work for such unfortunate classes as lepers, opium smokers, and the blind. They have rescued deserted infants and have conducted orphan asylums. They have begun or united in such movements for social betterment as the ones which have been instituted against suttee (the burning of widows), foot-binding, the opium traffic, slavery, and the liquor traffic. Whole tribes and castes have been rescued from savagery or abject social servitude. The peoples of the South Sea Islands, for example, would probably have disappeared much more quickly had it not been for the missionary, who has stood between them and the diseases and the vices of European peoples and exploitation by his less altruistic countrymen. In India, downtrodden castes, such, for instance, as the Madigas and the robber castes, have found in the church an escape from age-long degradation to a self-respecting life, and in their eagerness have at times almost as a body asked for baptism. The Chinese progressives who in 1897 and 1898 won the ear of the young emperor and led the first great reform movement in the Middle Kingdom caught part of their inspiration from literature prepared by missionaries and frequently sought the counsel of those of these high-minded foreigners whom they had learned to trust. It is significant that no small proportion of the leaders of the progressive elements in the Young China of today are graduates of mission schools. The Y. M. C. A. through its rural loan banks in India, and such movements toward improved agricultural methods as have been led by Professor Higgenbotham in India and Professor Bailie in China, are but a few instances of the efforts of missionaries to improve the lot of the great farming populations of the countries in which they minister.

Important religious and moral results have, of course, followed the work of missionaries, for these have been the chief aim of the enterprise. Many converts have unquestionably been first attracted by mixed or entirely unworthy motives, such as hope of employment or other financial assistance, or aid of the powerful foreigner in prosecuting a law suit, and the missionary would usually be the first to

admit the lack of moral improvement in the lives of some of the church members and the sad imperfections in those of others. On the other hand, however, no one can have followed with any degree of fairmindedness the results of missionary effort the world over without being convinced that on the whole the communities which the missionaries have gathered around them average higher in moral character than their non-Christian neighbors of the same social class. Striking individual examples of complete moral regeneration are so numerous as to be part of the commonplace of the movement. There have been, too, interesting influences upon non-Christian faiths. In India, for example, such reform movements in Hinduism as the Brahmo-Samaj and the Aryo-Samaj have been profoundly affected by Christianity. The newer movements in Hinduism and the other non-Christian faiths of India, while distinctly disclaiming any Christian affiliations, have displayed a tendency to emphasize those features which they hold in common with the New Testament and the Church, and to seek to eliminate those aspects of the older faiths which are most openly antagonistic to Christian moral standards. In other countries, the non-Christian religious organizations have copied many of the methods of the missionaries. In Japan, for instance, there are Young Men Buddhist Associations and Christian hymns are sung with the name of Buddha or a Buddhist saint substituted for that of Christ. While these influences can easily be exaggerated their presence is highly significant.

How permanent are the results of missions to be? Is the modern world to become Christian as did the ancient world and Europe at a time when nations were similarly thrown together in the melting pot? The answer to that question is in the realm of prophecy and the historically trained student must approach it guardedly and with a consciousness of fallibility. A great many factors are involved. The progress of modern missions has been due in no small degree to a vigorous life in the church and to the aggressive supremacy of European peoples in the past century and a quarter and the increasing desire of other races to learn from them. How long these will continue no one can be trusted to predict. It would seem that the second at least, the supremacy of Europe, shows indications of continuing for some time and that the first, while changing in its manifestations and seriously threatened in certain countries, is on the whole undiminished and possibly stronger than it was a generation ago. One must, however, take into account the fact that the Moslem world is as yet but scarcely affected by the modern missionary, and that the nationalistic movements which are so striking a feature of our day are often inclined to regard the Christian Church as a part of that European domination from which they are eager to be free, and so would revive and strengthen the native cults. Christianity must seemingly adapt itself to local conditions and establish vigorous national churches under native leadership if it is to be permanent and

grow. There are, one may add by way of parenthesis, many indications that such movements are already under way in a variety of places and that missionaries, particularly the representatives of Protestant communions, are keenly alive to the situation. If the non-Christian faiths are doomed to ultimate extinction it would seem highly unlikely that they will disappear quickly. They are almost certain to continue for many centuries and while they will probably be profoundly modified in places by their contact with Christianity, some of them may survive indefinitely.

A final and closely related question is: What is to be the effect upon Christianity of this missionary movement? What modifications are to be made in the church at home and what changes are to take place in the doctrines and organization of the church in non-Occidental lands? There are already indications that the more flexible Protestant bodies are beginning to feel the effects, both at home and abroad. A growing tendency toward unity and an inclination to restate doctrine in the light of the findings of comparative religion are some of the interesting results which are beginning to appear in the mother bodies. In missionary lands the movement is still too much in its infancy to allow of prophecy, but in each land there has been a distinct effort to adapt the doctrines and organization to the characteristics of the people, an effort which has been accentuated where, as in Japan, native leadership has become prominent. It seems certain that in at least some nations Christianity is to undergo important doctrinal and ecclesiastical modification and that influences from non-Christian faiths are to be prominent among those which are to mold Christianity in the lands where it is now dominant. Christianity may in time supplant its rivals, but if it does so, its historic forms are certain to be much modified in the process. Whatever the future of the Christian Church, however, both as to success and form, it must be said in closing as in beginning that the missionary movement which looks toward its expansion is one of the most interesting and significant movements of our day.

THE SOCIAL UTILITY OF HISTORY

By R. H. ERWINE
Springfield High School

In the present days of adjustment and industrial unrest, when each paper brings the story of a fiercer and more bitter contest, with class arrayed against class, with the propagandist and the demagogue abroad in the land, with anarchy flaunting itself everywhere, in days so pregnant with harm for the republic, it is most appropriate that we should seriously consider the topic for discussion.

As one listens to the thunders of discontent, he recalls Calhoun's skeptical remark to Horace Binney in 1834. "The poor and uneducated are increasing. There is no power in representative government to suppress them. Their numbers and their disorderly behavior will make them in the end enemies of men of property. They have the right to vote, and will finally control your elections, invade your houses and drive you out of doors." As one surveys the crowd which threatens to paralyze our industrial centers, as he listens to their prating violence, he is forced to the conclusion that they know neither yesterday nor today. Like animals they have no representations of the past life to interfere with their welfare. They feel they have little or nothing to conceal. All their interests center in the immediate present. Anything and everything is honorable to them as long as it serves their ends. The one condition of their happiness is the forgetfulness that anything was before the present. Until this state of mind is realized, in their opinion, one cannot be happy himself, nor can he bring real happiness to others.

In this critical hour, the teacher of history must seriously examine himself and his subject. Has he anything positive to offer society to help it save itself? Has his aim been rational, paving the road to higher standards of civilization or has he spent his splendid energy peddling the shells of the past to a leisure class who faintly realize that behind the present there was a time that was?

When one recalls that under even our present scheme of education, where fourteen students enter the first year of primary school, only five finish the eighth grade and one the high school, he is bound to realize that the burden of bringing American ideals and the spirit of our institutions to the masses of future citizens rests heavily upon the shoulders of the teachers in the primary and secondary schools. It is deeply to be regretted that the splendid history departments of our colleges and universities, with their wealth of material and their more adequate time for research and comparison, cannot be made available to the many rather than the few. Unfortunately the history training of our future citizens must be largely regulated by our ability to teach them the spirit of our institutions before they leave

the grade school. But it is a condition, not a theory, which confronts us.

It seems to me, as I reflect on the events of the past year, that the very stability of our nation depends on our people knowing and properly valuing our history. No citizen can with any degree of certainty comprehend the present or diagnose the future unless he understands the past, for history, above all else, is the story of the organic evolution of peoples. When one announces that he is unbound by the trammels of the past, he instantly reveals his lack of qualities for leadership or even for citizenship in a democracy. The prudent man will search the records that he may be spared from a folly which is useless and wasteful, if not really criminal. An interest once awakened in tracing out the origin and development of ideas will give a strong momentum toward the right interpretations of present conditions. "He who has correctly learned to estimate the preceding ages," says Leckey, "is not apt to go far wrong in estimating our own." Lord Bryce, in the introduction to his monumental work on the Holy Roman Empire, directs our attention to the fact that in history there is nothing isolated and just as to explain a modern act of Parliament or a modern transfer of land we must go back to the feudal customs of the thirteenth century, so among the institutions of the middle ages there is scarcely one which can be understood until it is traced from its classical or primitive Teutonic activity. While one may accept this statement, but conscientiously ask how all this is to apply to children, it is needful to remember that under the swift processes of evolution the boys and girls of today are the citizens of tomorrow.

Only a virile patriotism can save a country from anarchy in days of adjustment. Such a patriotism cannot be founded on ignorance or superstition. It may rest upon facts, facts that are well established, that are undisputed. If you would teach the youth to be patriotic, you must instill in his veins a deep and reverential love of country. But what is his country? He has only a vague conception of its meaning. You may show him the flag, but what does it mean? You may point out a list of the states or names of the presidents, but all this is almost worthless unless the invisible elements which hide behind are presented clearly. Like a medieval cathedral, whose foundations were placed hundreds of years before the superstructure was completed, the meaning of our country, its flag, and its present institutions can only be understood when one realizes the rights for which the American colonists contended, the principles upon which Washington and his associates reared the new government, the zeal of Jefferson to make it democratic, the desire of Lincoln to save it against itself, and the earnest hope of McKinley to reconsecrate it to a common purpose. Then and only then can one appreciate its real meaning.

Herbert Spencer could argue in his own day that history was useless as a means of instruction because it showed a lack of organiza-

tion. An Italian futurist could claim a few years ago that modern Italy is strangled by a dead hand. "We are not allowed," he says, "to move forward according to the modern necessities of life because the way is blocked by the old monuments, the old statues, the crumbling old ruins and the romantic old sentiment which encumbers our people." These statements today seem strangely beside the facts. While here and there there may be a tendency for the student to become unduly absorbed in the past with a devotion which is excessive, this is most unusual. The general tendency is to discount the importance of the past, rather than to overemphasize it. There is little hope for the world to regain and permanently hold its former poise until conviction is brought home to the people that past experience is the key to an understanding of the future. What better work can our teachers do than to awaken in the minds of the children the sense of indebtedness to the precious heritage of the past? As social individuals partaking in all their country has to offer, we cannot afford, if we value our civilization, to allow them to escape this responsibility.

There are some dangers involved in attempting to tabulate the merits of history study. Some enthusiasts have shown such zeal at the task that history has appeared as good for everything. This strange devotion has led critics to ask: "Is history good for anything?" There is a positive danger in overemphasis. It breathes the spirit of mental blindness. But where there is no vision truly the people perish. If we would build for tomorrow a more stable government, one that endeavors to eradicate every tendency to injustice and inequality, we must build while we can, into the minds of our boys and girls, visions of a country that is to be. We must revise our courses; we must reshape our material. The social aspect of history must strike the dominant note constantly. Within the limitations imposed by the ages of our students and the nature of the material they must handle, we must train their judgment as far as we are able. The teachers of history in our primary and secondary schools have been doing this as far as possible. They propose to keep it up—if I rightly interpret their spirit—for they believe that in history teaching there is social utility of inestimable value.

DEFECTS OF COLLEGE TEACHING FROM THE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS' VIEWPOINT.

By C. D. WASHBURN
North High School, Columbus

For obvious reasons it is an act of some temerity for a high-school teacher to criticise the work of college history instructors. The secondary teachers are more or less out of touch with the college men and do not any too frequently come in contact with the product of the college teacher in such a way as to qualify the former to criticise the latter's teaching. On the other hand, it is no task for the college instructor to find shortcomings in the work of high-school teachers. He has the product of the high school constantly before him, and if any errors appear in the student's method of thinking, or if he has not a good foundation for his college work, the responsibility is quite often placed on the high-school teacher. As a rule, the college instructor has a pity for the ignorant student before him and rather charitably lays the blame for his defects on the high-school teacher. And, it must be confessed, we are guilty to a degree. The student's defects are attributable to the high-school instructor, but since the latter received his training from the college itself, we beg to pass back the responsibility in true Tweed Ring fashion, and hold the college instructor as at least *particeps criminis*. Much of the ability we have as teachers we acquired from college teachers—and many of our shortcomings we derived from the same source. Since a stream cannot rise higher than its source, we high-school teachers as a class cannot rise above the limitations derived from our college training and the weaknesses of high-school teaching are only modified forms of those found in colleges.

In discussing this question of the defects of college teaching, it is only fair for the secondary teachers to admit that the colleges and universities, especially the larger ones, have some serious problems confronting them, due to rapid growth. Their classes are large and are composed of students from all sections of the country and from all grades of high schools. On the other hand, the students are at an age in which they have a deeper sense of responsibility and do not have to be prodded on as in high school. Be it said further that the writer has no particular college in mind in these remarks, but is only speaking in general terms. Nor should the impression be gained that high-school teachers regard all college teaching as bad. The subject of this paper is limited to defective teaching, hence the lack of floral missives for the splendid teaching which can be found in most, if not all, colleges.

The objections about to be raised are of long standing and only need reiteration as a reminder that the weaknesses still exist and in

the hope that as a result of reflection better things may come. It is stated, I believe, that the first prohibition society in the United States was founded in 1823, and its aims have come to full fruition in slightly less than a century. If by constant agitation such a reform as prohibition can be effected in a century in the live and active world, may we not hope for an educational reform by a century or two of agitation in educational circles, where too often things go in circles, if we despair not? The obstacles are great, however, for in no other domain, except religion, does tradition seem to be so strong.

Perhaps the most serious defect in college teaching from the high-school teachers' viewpoint is the shoddy treatment accorded the college freshmen in most of the universities. The first-year pupils have just completed their high-school courses, where presumably and in most cases actually they have had experienced teachers who are well versed not only in their subject but also in the means of imparting it. But upon entering college, apparently a transformation takes place in the student. He no longer needs a trained teacher—just anybody will do, and consequently he is turned over to a graduate student, a neophyte, who is utterly devoid of the first principles of pedagogy. The state refuses absolutely to give such a short-cut teacher a certificate to teach in public schools, but permits him to attempt to teach in the public-supported college and to flourish in private schools. May I insert here that this condition does not obtain in the history department of the Ohio State University, where all of the instructors are men of experience. The excuse commonly offered for the employment of the neophytes is that limited funds necessitate it. The college authorities should place as low a value upon the intellectual worth of this inexperienced though well-intentioned youth as he himself does upon his monetary value. And what is the result of the employment of inexperienced instructors? It is to be found in an appalling rate of intellectual mortality in the freshman year. The proverbial emerald hue which enshrouds the freshman class in September is soon turned to a dazzling white by the bleached skeletons of those educationally deceased. High-school teachers hold university instructors responsible for the wrecked hopes of hundreds of young people every year and regard it as little short of criminal. While other causes may contribute to the failure and withdrawal of students from the colleges, the main reason is probably the extensive use of neophytes. What is true of freshman teaching is true in only less degree of the second-year work. The more capable instructors are reserved for the advanced courses where, indeed, the student should be fairly able to take care of himself. The objection to the present form of teaching is all the more intense from our viewpoint from the fact that many of these alleged instructors have never attended an up-to-date city high school. That such a preparation is highly desirable is affirmed by one of the Ohio high-school inspectors, who maintains that the success of a

teacher is more dependent upon the character of the high school he attended than upon the university.

Another criticism we have of college teaching is closely related to the one already given. It is the belief of many of us that pedagogy is sacrificed to scholarship, so-called. Let us not consider here whether it is real scholarship for an instructor to have a very intimate knowledge of how man lived two thousand years ago when he does not know how people live today. We high-school teachers think, however, that too often the college man becomes so engrossed in delving after some unimportant detail of the remote past that he ceases to live to all practical purposes in the present. Being unable to live in both the past and the present, he has buried himself in antiquity. Research is highly commendable, but should not be undertaken in a horse-drawn hearse. There is a reason for the high-school man, and especially the college instructor, being looked upon as impractical and as provocative of a smile, and the reason is not to be found in our stars. His habits of thinking have become different from those of other men, he becomes impractical and he can often be beguiled into supporting many wild and fantastic social projects. He comes to believe that the ills that beset the human race can be obviated by certain formulae and consequently he grasps after any beautiful butterfly that flits by if the word "panacea" be written on its wings. Less scholarship and more common sense, men of college circles, and the stigma of impracticality would vanish! And in giving up some scholarship substitute some elements of pedagogy. Consider for a moment who are the best teachers in the colleges with which you are connected, and I believe you will find in almost every instance that they are men who have had some experience in high-school teaching. In my own case, my best college teachers were men of experience in secondary schools. A library of a hundred thousand volumes, if not catalogued, is of little real value so long as the books remain inaccessible. Likewise, a head full of the knowledge of all races and times is of slight value to pupils if this knowledge is inaccessible because of the poor teaching qualities of the possessor. Such a one might still be useful to the human race in other walks of life. Let him write books or learn a trade, but don't let him check the intellectual growth of hundreds of young people. Give us more teachers and fewer scholars in our colleges if it is impossible to find the two combined in one. After all, it is the methods of thinking and not facts that are going to survive. I suppose we should all be seriously grieved if we realized how few of the facts we strive to inculcate are going to survive the final examination. We evaluate the tangible facts, but the intangible mental processes we do not properly appraise. This is a fault of history teachers especially. Let us about face in this regard and place the emphasis where it belongs. We feel, then, that a marked improvement would be made if you people would worry less about Ph.D.'s and think more about good teaching.

A third fault we find in you is very prevalent among college history teachers. It emanates from the delusion that a college undergraduate is an intellectual storage house. The filling-in process is used too extensively and the real meaning of education is ignored. While studying about Socrates, the history instructor forgets all about the method always associated with his name. The late high-school student who has recently emerged victoriously from a four-year bombardment of questions at every turn is now rewarded by a four years' armistice of blissful rest at the feet of an oracle. No longer is it the student, but the teacher, who prepares the lesson and uses the bulk of the hour. It is little wonder that the amazed freshman soon comes to think he is attending college primarily for social and athletic functions and that college life is Utopian. Is this effort to pour so much information into the student advantageous? You complain of our high-school students coming to you unencumbered with the leading facts of history. Granting that they do, is your position ridiculous or egotistical when you attempt to inculcate volumes of facts where we failed in our modest pretensions? In the senior year of high school the American History assignment consists of something like one thousand pages in addition to the supplementary reading. To cover this, we have two hundred recitations. In the universities these same students who are only a few months older are expected to cover a large volume, misnamed a short history, besides a large assignment of reference work in something like one hundred recitations. The result too often is a confused mass of material and a lack of the power of historical discrimination. Weighty matters are mixed in with the insignificant. Two evidences of this have come to my attention within the past year. The writer was listening to a practice teacher from one of the colleges in Ohio who had charge of a class in American History. The subject was the navigation act, and the practice teacher commented several times on the "admiralty" courts. Sometime later in another class another young lady was telling about the Barbary war. This practice teacher explained to the class that when Philadelphia was burned, Jefferson sent a naval expedition over to punish the pirates. While it may not be considered a serious offense for this prospective teacher to have confused the ship Philadelphia with the city of that name, it might cause her some embarrassment in the future when some high-school student corrects her. As for the first error, it would seem to most of us that admiralty courts were of sufficient importance to deserve correct pronunciation. Mistakes such as these are induced by the college man dispensing too much, rather than too little, information.

Numerous other defects might be enumerated, but the writer hesitates to name others from fear of being classed a pessimist or a grouch. But if the defects mentioned might be ameliorated in the slightest degree by this discussion of them, such a consignment to the class of pessimists or of grouches would not be without its compensation.

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THE USE OF MAGAZINES IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

By INEZ ORBISON

Glenville High School, Cleveland

One evening, not long ago, one of the high school girls came rushing into the midst of a little social gathering, breathless and very much excited, announcing that she was sorry to be so late, but she'd just had so much fun at the supper table, discussing the Shantung question with her father, that she'd almost forgotten party and all. "And the best of it was," she continued, "he finally had to admit that I did know something about it. And altho he didn't agree with me, 'he was glad to find out,' he said, 'that I was at last really learning something worth talking about. He'd seen very little evidence of it before.'"

The retort of a nettled father, of course, not used to having his daughter dispute him, least of all to having her assail the fortifications of his set opinions with facts. But gratifying! And what kind of facts were those with which she bombarded him—the arraignment of the situation from the view-point of this editor or that, or rather, the partisan stand of this politician or that? This type of ammunition he was used to, for displays of such fireworks are almost incessant these days. No, what she marshalled forth was an array of historic factors. For days in the history class, we had been tracing the story of China's past, her relations with her immediate neighbors and with the various European powers, during the period since her isolation first began to be intruded upon—that pathetic story of apparent helplessness. And as we studied we had tried to understand—to trace out the great underlying principles that had determined the course of events, examining the facts to discover their relation to each other for cause and effect, finally, in the light of the past, trying to see the situation of today in its true perspective. Both the girl and her father had gleaned their knowledge of that present-day situation from the same source, but their interpretations of the facts in hand were as diverse as the points of view from which they had judged them. One saw them only in their relation to the immediate present, while the other saw them as a part of a very much larger whole—a factor in a very much more complicated and comprehensive problem.

The topic to be discussed is, I believe, The Use of Magazines in the Teaching of History. Should a very strict interpretation of that wording be insisted upon, I fear I should have great difficulty in defending the affirmative side of the question, altho I constantly use

magazines in all of my classes. I do not use them to teach history. I teach history in order that all human events transpiring today may have a deeper meaning, and to make that meaning clear, just as in the case of the Shantung issue, the present must be studied in its relation to the past.

I quite agree with a recent writer in *The Historical Outlook* who deplores the "current-events mindedness" of the present generation. "By the current-events mind," he explains, "I mean that development of mind which sees the events of today with little of their relation to one another; which has but a slight idea of the great historical process of which the happenings of today are the expression or of which they form a part; which draws conclusions and teaches lessons from events for propaganda purposes without knowing that they are but fractional parts of something entirely foreign to the thing set forth; and which is captured by passing events and expressions without understanding their implications."¹

On the other hand, paradoxical as it may seem, it is precisely as a preventative against such current-events mindedness as this, that I most heartily advocate, not the use of magazines in the teaching of history, but the study of magazines (the record of present happenings) along with the study of history (the record of past events) to show the vital organic connection between the two. As Prof. James Harvey Robinson says: "It is most essential that we should understand our own time; we can only do so through history, and it is the obvious duty of the historian to meet this, his chief obligation."² And how can we show this relationship except by studying the two side by side?

To test the results of my own theories, I asked a class the other day what they thought about it. We had studied the history of the partition of Poland—had traced the cause of her downfall, with a careful analysis of its geographical, racial and political aspects, endeavoring to comprehend her problems and if possible to apprehend her mistakes. We then took up a discussion of the reconstructed Poland, struggling to regain her feet and wrestling with the problems of today—so characteristically her same old problems, in a new form, of course, but fundamentally identical. "And will she be able to profit by the lessons of the past," we wondered, "or is it not possible for her to escape the old pitfalls so clearly the ruin of her hopes before of disunion, of an imperialism insisting upon the subjugation of peoples not her own, or a yielding to foreign influence forever threatening her territorial integrity and her political independence?"

The class was tremendously interested in the modern Poland and the present day situation. When the enthusiasm was at its highest pitch, I suddenly asked, half fearful of the answer I might receive, if

¹ *Historical Outlook*, Oct., 1919, "The Current-Events Mind." W. H. Ellison.

² J. H. Robinson, *The New History*, p. 80.

they would not favor devoting all of their time to the study of current events alone. I was gratified beyond expectation with an emphatic chorus of "No's!" "We understand what we have just been discussing, because we knew what had happened before," was one lad's simple but complete diagnosis. "We couldn't appreciate what she is really up against now, if we hadn't studied her history first," volunteered another, "we needed the background."

Then I reversed the question. "Oh, all right, I quite agree that a knowledge of history is necessary," I said, "if you are to come to any real understanding of the present—understanding with insight I mean! Then should we not use all of our time—it is short enough as it is—studying just the history itself, and not continue to digress, as we were always doing, to the magazine topics? You could read those for yourselves!"

"Yes, but we couldn't," came the prompt response, "or if we did, we wouldn't know enough yet to see the connection."

Then suddenly one of the pupils who certainly had never so much as heard of Dr. McElroy of Princeton, came forth with exactly the same argument which that professor once used, even reverting to the very same figure of speech to drive the thought home!⁵ "Then we wouldn't have any thing but background," she said, "and that certainly wouldn't be worth much in itself—any more than a picture that had nothing in the foreground to look at!"

The most gratifying answer of all, however, came from one of the pupils representative of our foreign element, the son of a Russian Jewish immigrant, and so typical of some 70 percent of our Cleveland population, that vast majority that must see the light, if our democracy is to be safe, not only for the world, but for ourselves. Some of our city schools, last year, had to fight hard to keep Bolshevik propaganda from seeping in. In our own school we had only one "effusion." It was this same pupil who one day launched forth with an outburst that would have brought joy to the heart of Lenin himself. He was promptly silenced, of course, in the class-room, but we all know that high school pupils do much more talking among themselves outside of the school room than in, therefore to get this pupil to "see the light" was a matter of no small concern to us all. It was with particular interest that I had been watching the effect which the study of history might have on his views. Imagine the satisfaction, then, with which these words greeted me: "Oh, sure we ought to study current events, too," he said, "because that way we can get the right dope here and then we can go back and set the—the others straight!"

What type of Americanization work could offer you greater opportunities than this? And are we certain that it is only in the foreign

⁵ "Classroom Treatment of Recent Events in Europe and America," an address delivered before the New York Conference of the Association of History Teachers, by Robert McNutt McElroy, of Princeton University.

home that there are "others" who need sometimes to be "set straight?" We are passing through one of the most critical phases in all of our history, when as never before we need sound judgment to guide us in our councils. Professor Harding, discussing "What the War Should do for our History Methods," never spoke more truly than when he said: "The war should enforce the old lesson that the present is rooted deep in the past. Just as the biologist and medical scientist invoke the aid of embryology and etiology in dealing with their problems, so the citizen and statesman need the aid of history in dealing with the practical problems of society. Almost none of the questions involved in the present war is capable of intelligent discussion save in the light of history. Serbia and the Balkan question, out of which the struggle immediately grew, requires a knowledge of history for elucidation and settlement. Germany is inexplicable without a knowledge of Bismarck and Frederick the Great, along with Goethe, Schiller, and Martin Luther. So it is with Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein, Poland, Morocco, the Turkish Empire—even Bolshevism, that last and most disquieting of all the problems staring us in the face."⁴

Moreover, he goes on to say: "The war should teach us all to think internationally. . . . Whether the present draft of the League of Nations is adopted as it stands or not, some form of world organization is certain to result, in which we shall have an important part. . . . The history teacher, without lessening the emphasis on our national ideals and duties, must perform his part in helping to educate the rising generation to a sense of world citizenship." Whether we like it or not—it is not a matter of our own choosing—our period of isolation is forever at an end! America must deal with the other nations of the world, and to deal with them fairly she must deal with them understandingly. This can come about only when her citizens, as well as her diplomats (yea, even her senators) have come to know these fellow-nations sympathetically, through a patient and painstaking study of their history, their traditions, and their struggles in the past, as related to the immediate problems they are struggling so hard to solve right now. Their present and hers is one. Her people, in order to co-operate intelligently with theirs must be able not only to appreciate the full significance of that relationship, but to view it in its true perspective. This can never be done through a mere perusal of the magazines from week to week, noting the present day happenings as they break into print. As one writer has so justly said: "In the range each week, from China to Peru, the pupil will absorb a great deal of information, but it would seem that care is necessary if he is not to become merely a walking depository of miscellaneous facts, rather than an intelligent student of human actions."⁵

⁴ *The Historical Outlook*, April, 1919, p. 189.

⁵ Andrews, *The Use and Abuse of Current Events in History Classes*.

On the other hand, however, let me repeat, perspective implies a foreground as well as a background, and it is to small purpose that we study the past, if we do not train the pupil to see the connection between that past and the present with which he is so vitally concerned. Historical-mindedness is the balance wheel with which we must steady our judgment. But pray, let us not be so academic in the development of this most important faculty, that—to change the figure—it becomes a sort of a cold-storage product. Let the pupil see now, how and why a knowledge of the past is of value, in coping with the problems of today.

And, moreover, let him find out what those problems are, for himself, through the reading of some current periodical—such reading to be directed, to the end that he may be so trained that, in after life, he may go on with such reading understandingly. Let him not read after the manner of those whogulp the morning's news as they gulp their coffee, to the mental as well as the physical indigestion of the vast majority of the masses. But teach him to read with that insight which illuminates the page with the light of all the ages.

And how should this be done? An ideal, of course, which none of us could hope to realize fully, toward which each of us must work, after his own manner. In my own classes, I endeavor to link up the discussion of practically every series of historic events with the present. If it is the acquisition of the British possessions in India that we are studying, the assignment also inevitably includes a survey of the present unrest in India, with the plea that they try, in the light of the past, as well as through as full a knowledge as they can acquire of the present situation, to understand the real meaning and significance of the facts in hand. The acquisition of mere facts alone would be futile business. Let the encyclopedia and the World Almanac be such depositories. It is for the wise to appreciate intelligently the bearing of those facts, and to act accordingly.

I set no prescribed day for the study of current events in my classes. In Cleveland, a board ruling calls for "the equivalent of one recitation a week to be so spent." Practically all of the pupils subscribe for a stated weekly magazine. One day a week, usually, the study is concentrated on the current issue. All the days of all the weeks, however, that magazine or any other, newspapers, monthly periodicals, or the latest books, are drawn upon for material to bring our text book study down to date.

I have never been able to use the cut and dried lists of questions furnished by some of the magazines. The discussion must fit in with what my own classes are studying. The magazine is there, merely as a valuable source of information from which we may draw as the exigencies arise. Sometimes I give out list of questions of my own. Sometimes the class is divided up into committees which report top-

ically. History is a living subject. Least of all dare its methods be static!

What magazines do I use? There are three, of course, of which we usually think first, *The Outlook*, *The Independent*, and *The Digest*. I like best to have the pupils take all three, each for a period of the year. Our tastes differ. Some will find greater pleasure in one, others in a second. At the end of the year they will be better able to judge the type of magazine they wish to subscribe to for their own future reading. Last June, after such an experience, when I asked for a vote, I found the choices rather evenly distributed.

But after all, what we shall use or how we shall use it, is a problem that will easily solve itself, when once we have come to appreciate fully why we turn to the study at all. I have not tried, therefore, to outline a method. I have endeavored, rather, to give a reason for the faith that is in me.

A SUGGESTED PROGRAM FOR TEACHING AMERICA'S PART IN THE GREAT WAR FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL

By CLAYTON C. KOHL

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Any rational program for the teaching of America's part in the recent war requires the serious consideration of a number of fundamental problems. In the first place the whole history curriculum of the high school is involved. This includes the time element. In the second place, the problem of the capacity of the high school student for history study and interpretation is brought up in a new form. Methodology constitutes a third problem, since a study of the war can not be, on the one hand, like the more or less fixed history of textbooks, and can not, on the other hand, partake longer of the nature of current events. A fourth problem is brought to the front when material is being assembled; and a final and greater problem than all the others is correlated with this question of material; namely, the actual working syllabus. A scientific student of history is likely to ignore all these problems except the last two; the student of high school pedagogy is equally likely to overdo the others and underestimate material and subject matter. Any thoughtful teacher of experience will see, upon a little consideration, that each of the problems is important and tremendously difficult.

Very little good can come out of a plan that permits only a two or three weeks' study of the war at the end of some other history course, especially when the course is one in ancient, medieval, English, or American history. A still less worthy plan is the rather prevalent one of studying the war in connection with English courses. The present war is a product of nineteenth century history, and it can not be understood except through and by that history. Just as one teaches the eighteenth century with his eye ever on the French Revolution, so one must teach the nineteenth century with his eye ever on the present war. There is a good year's work for the high school in modern history from 1789 to the present; and this work should be erected into a course of study. Whatever may be the administrative objections, it should be established, since there is no other way to make the most vital and most important period in all history understandable. For training in American citizenship for the next generation, this course could be made the most telling in the whole high school course of study. Ancient, medieval, or even English history might be sacrificed for it. The last six or eight weeks of this course could be devoted to the present war, not as an isolated

part, but as an integral part for which preparation had been made all through the year's work. Toledo high schools are pursuing this plan for the current year, with the exception that teachers are left free as to time to devote to the war. A whole monograph could be written upon this topic; but time and space here permit only the statement of the fundamental proposition that modern history is of infinitely more importance to American high school students than any or all of the things that stand in the way of its more complete study.

This is not a proper place to discuss the hereditary capacity of high school students; but it is a place where one is forced to study the acquired capacity of these students for history work. The teacher who deals in current events in his classes, must have gotten a new realization of the tremendous weakness of American students in understanding international or European affairs. Prior to the war, comparatively few people took any interest in foreign questions and problems. The European or English boy or girl was immeasurably in advance of our youth in this respect. Environment, of course, was in part the cause for this superiority; and provincialism was in part a cause for our inferiority. The war forced our press and public discussion into foreign topics, and thousands of adults began to feel their inability to understand the government and social life of the countries at war. Many high school teachers and most high school students found themselves in a maze of new terms and conceptions representing ideas and events that were almost totally unknown to them. Questions and events that had but a passing interest even to modern history students in the high school became, after the war, topics of huge importance. Most of our high school teachers and practically all of our high school students had so little virile training in European affairs that they were unable to follow events with discernment and intelligence. This lack of training and consequent lack of capacity still exists to an appalling extent. All of our modern history texts and practically all of the really solid books on the war are too difficult for our high school students. They take for granted what should be explained. There must be a certain basic feeling of familiarity with any field of study before the mind can work with any freedom in it, and it is this feeling with regard to present-day affairs in the Old World that our high school students do not have. This must be reckoned with first of all in any program of teaching the war in the high school. Any teacher, with pedagogical acumen, who desires to contest the position here taken may pursue a very interesting little study by reading through with care Professor Harding's admirable (college) *Outline* and marking all the words, phrases, and references which would need explanation to a high school student who has not had any European history, or even to one who has had a course of the traditional kind. The treaty of peace, with the character of the very probable train of events that

will follow it in the next generation, makes this problem of developing in our prospective citizens a feeling of acquaintance with foreign institutions, customs, tensions, and the like, one of the most serious in our civic program.

The third problem, or that of methodology, has likewise received a new significance in the past four or five years. History that lies very far in the past has a certain "pastness" psychology clinging to it, and it adjusts itself quite readily to memory of study. Where judgment in it is required, the text invariably comes to the rescue and hence adapts even the reflective part of it to memory. Current events in times that are not strenuous seem to degenerate into narrative and memoriter presentations. But the war brought legions of interrelated events and problems that were literally burning with significance. No thoughtful person trusted any other person's judgment, whether in print or given orally. Even children differed in opinions, and supported them with a degree of prejudice that would do credit to adult partisans. Here lies a new and wonderful opportunity for the high school teacher of history. How take this burning interest, born often in homes with boys in Europe or just returned, and convert it into genuine historical attitudes and judgments? There can be but one answer: a methodology that will call for a serious attempt to solve live questions through the open-minded consideration of facts. The old narrative, catechetical, dogmatic, and red-tape methods used even a decade ago will no longer suffice; the students themselves sicken of them, since they fall flat in the face of the rushing problems of today. The students of their own accord break right over the traces of the old pedagogical harness. They literally jump into a new harness, if they be but shown how. If there ever was, or ever will be, a time ripe for the introduction of a method of rudimentary research in high school history, this is that time. Problems, with a supervised research of them, is the only method that can ever satisfy young or old today. To demonstrate beyond the possibility of a doubt that the customary methods of teaching history in the high school will not suffice for the teaching of the war, one needs but to read the categorical treatments appended to some recent texts.

To put this general suggestion into a concrete form, some such method as the following might be carried out. A series of vital correlated problems might be mimeographed or printed, and one assigned to each student in a class, or, better, selected by the students themselves. Each student then should be taken to the sources by the teacher and shown how to use them, how to search for others, how to take notes, how to cite authorities, how to judge authorities, and the like. This will, in the very nature of the case, be very simple and incomplete. The first student on the list may then give his discussion and the others should be requested to take notes. A discussion can follow in which the teacher may make corrections. A

frank and final answer to the question in hand may be formulated on the blackboard and discussed. The frankness should extend so far that often the formulated conclusion may be that no one knows a correct answer. Every student would thus have a little notebook on the war; every one would meet the usual experience of the history student in finding divergent views and contradictory evidence; and a taste at least ought to come of that bewildering charm which every serious student of history knows who has searched a path through a forest of entangling facts. Such a method would tend to break down the greatest barrier that the high school teacher of history now has to contend with; namely, the constant practice of students in citing and relating facts which have no bearing upon any question in hand. The teacher and the students would have a perfectly apparent reason for asking again and again: "What has that to do with the question?" The curse of history teaching is the pointless relating of facts. It is also the curse of some history texts.

Little need be said in the way of discussion concerning the problems of material and content; a bibliography for the one and a syllabus for the other will alone satisfy the demands presented by these. A large number of reference lists have been published and much has already been accomplished in the way of collecting material. *The Historical Outlook*, with its *Supplements*, has done excellent service for high school teachers in this connection. Professor Harding's *A Study of the Great War: A Topical Outline*, constitutes an admirable syllabus down to 1918. It is hoped that this may be brought down to date. Certain very commonplace truisms must, however, be pointed out with reference to material and syllabus. A great deal of the best material is not available in many high schools, especially in the case of the smaller ones. In large city high schools, the number of students is so large that very few of them can get the material when the whole number is studying together a syllabus step by step. A great part of the material, especially when it is documentary, is beyond the comprehension of high school students, and much or all of it is diffuse and laborious to read. Titles of many books and articles are misleading. The mass of literature and the large number of events that now seem important make any study of the war on the part of high school students bewildering. The conditions of history instruction differ so widely in the high schools today that every individual high school instructor must work out with just as great clarity as possible what he can best do in his particular situation to secure a working intelligence of the war on the part of his students.

The following list of problems has been tentatively prepared, keeping always in mind the principles which have been discussed so far in this paper. They are suggested as a program for the last month's work of classes that have been studying modern history during the school year. They are put into question form, for selection by stu-

dents, in order to avoid impossible assignments, inability to get material, and pointless reading. They are meant to be large enough so that each student will be getting material that will help him to take part in the discussion of other students' reports. They take for granted that the teacher will supervise the research and that all students will take brief notes. No special merit is claimed for them from the standpoint of historical interpretation; they represent simply the struggle of a practical teacher to solve the tremendous problem that the war has placed upon high school instruction in history.

A SUGGESTED LIST OF PROBLEMS FOR TEACHING AMERICA'S PART IN THE GREAT WAR FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL

- I. The European side of the war down to America's entrance.
 1. Why did Austria declare war upon Serbia?
 2. Why did Germany enter the war?
 3. Why did Russia enter the war?
 4. Why did France enter the war?
 5. Why did Great Britain enter the war?
 6. Why did Italy enter the war?
 7. Why did Japan and Turkey enter the war?
 8. What attempts were made to avoid a general European war and why did they fail?
 9. The war is said to have involved more men and to have affected more area than any other war in history. Give evidence.
 10. This war is said to have been more inhuman and more destructive than any other war of history. Give evidence.
 11. After the chief nations of Europe had gotten well into the war, what came to be clear aims of the Allies and of the Central Powers?
- II. America's part in the war.
 12. Did the United States play the part of strict and honorable neutrality during the first two years of the war?
 13. What were some of the characteristic opinions in the United States with reference to the war during the first two years of its progress?
 14. What part did the Belgian atrocities play in forcing the United States into the war?
 15. What part did submarine warfare on the part of Germany have in bringing this country into the war?
 16. How did the intrigues of German officials in this country and in Mexico help to bring us into the war?
 17. Trace the efforts of the pacifists in this country to keep us out of the war.
 18. Trace the growth of our army in this country and in Europe from date of entrance to armistice.

19. Trace the growth of our navy and merchant marine from date of entrance to the armistice.
20. What did our navy actually accomplish during the war?
21. What did our army actually accomplish during the war?
22. What did our air and motor service accomplish during the war?
23. What service did our engineering and construction force render during the war?
24. How did the United States aid the Allies financially?
25. Outline the work of the Red Cross during the war.
26. Outline the work of the Y. M. C. A. during the war.
27. Collate the aims of the United States in the war as expressed by President Wilson and others from time to time down to January, 1918.
28. What part did President Wilson play in peace efforts prior to the last six months of the war?
29. What part did President Wilson play in bringing about the armistice?
30. What part did the United States play in peace negotiations?
 - A. What was to be our part in these negotiations as interpreted by President Wilson in numerous speeches made just before and during the early weeks of the Conference?
 - B. What was President Wilson's part in the League of Nations Covenant?
 - C. Did President Wilson cause the United States to play unfair with China in the Shantung clause?
 - D. What part did President Wilson have in the Fiume affair?
 - E. Trace the changing attitude in Europe toward the United States during and after the Peace Conference.
 - F. Trace some of the criticisms of President Wilson's part in the war that are now current in this country.

A SUGGESTED MINIMUM BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR HIGH SCHOOL

The Historical Outlook.

HARDING: *Topical Outline.*

Bulletins of The Committee of Public Information, including *Official Bulletin*. *War Cyclopedias.*

Congressional Record.

Current History Magazine. (New York Times War Volumes.)

Literary Digest.

MCMASTER: *The United States in the World War.*

One of the larger histories of the War: Simonds, Doyle, March, Davis.

"The War with Germany: A Statistical Summary." General Staff, U. S. Department of War, 1919.

THE METHOD AND AIMS OF MODERN HISTORIANS¹

By H. C. HOCKETT

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History writing is not a new form of intellectual activity. The pictographs and ideograms of vanished races and remote epochs bear witness to the antiquity of the desire of men to preserve the memory of their acts. The ubiquitous bard and minstrel of the untutored youth of the race foreshadowed from undated ages the recorder of events. As is true in philosophy, natural science, politics, literature, and mathematics, the first notable development of history writing appeared in that efflorescent epoch of the mind which produced Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Euripides, and Euclid. In the fifth century before Christ, Herodotus earned the title of "Father of History" by writing of the glorious deeds of the forefathers of Greece with a narrative skill seldom surpassed since, but with a naïve catholicity which balked not at the inclusion of many a myth and marvel. "My duty," he said, "is to report all." The critical faculty was not wholly wanting in this founder of the craft, but its activity was inhibited by his theory of history, for to the above remark he added "I am not obliged to believe it all alike." It was reserved for his contemporary, Thucydides, to essay the function of critical historian. At his hand history became a search for the truth, amid the intermingled fact and fable of the records and the conflicting testimony of witnesses who were affected in various degrees by partisanship or forgetfulness.

The historical science of Herodotus and Thucydides was, of course, not notably nearer to that of the twentieth century than was the natural science or politics of Aristotle. History has been peculiarly sensitive to the ebb and flow of thought in other channels. With all culture it declined during the medieval era, degenerating into the most barren of chronicles and annals, or the most absurd of guesses. It reawoke with the Renaissance, became contemptuous of the past with the eighteenth century rationalism, and warmly appreciative under the influence of Romanticism. No less than science and theology, it felt the effects of the critical spirit of the nineteenth century, and, like all human thinking, it was profoundly influenced by the hypothesis of evolution.

Some conception of the distance it has come may be gained from an illustration or two showing the character of the records of the medieval chroniclers:

¹ Read before the "Open Court," Ohio State University.

"In the year 911 of the Incarnation," writes one of the German chroniclers, "King Louis, the son of Emperor Arnulf, died, and since the royal line was now extinct, he was succeeded by Conrad, son of that Conrad who had been killed by Adalbert.

"In the year 912 of the Incarnation the Hungarians again devastated without opposition Franconia and Thuringia. Archbishop Hatto, a very keen and able man, died, and Heriger succeeded him. Otto, duke of Saxony, died.

"In the year 913 of the Incarnation there was a very severe winter. The Hungarians wasted the fields of the Alemanni and were defeated by the Bavarians and Alemanni at the river Inn. In the same year Einhard, bishop of Speyer, was blinded by Counts Bernhard and Conrad."

Such was the style in which current happenings were usually set down. More details appear sometimes, of course, but the medieval chronicles in general are so meager that skilful use must be made of other remains—charters, letters, decrees, laws, literature, architecture—to make these ages live again. When the medieval historian essayed to treat of past events, his work became of even less value. Here is the account of the origin of Paris and the French people, from Rigord's Life of Philip Augustus:

"The inhabitants . . . preferred to call the city Paris, from Paris, . . . son of Priam, king of Troy; for we read in the *Acts of the Franks* that the first king of the Franks . . . was Pharamond, . . . a descendant of Hector . . . through Francius . . . After the destruction of Troy a great number of the inhabitants of that city fled, and later separated into two peoples; one of these took for their king Francius, son of Hector, and consequently grandson of Priam, the former king of the Trojans; the other followed the son of Troilus, the second son of Priam. He was called the Turck; and it is in this way, it is said, that these two peoples received the names which they keep even until today of Franks and Turks."

Now, lest we regard this historical attempt with undue contempt, let us place beside it an example or two of the pseudo science of the same period.

"The eagle," we are told, "on account of its great heat, mixeth very cold stones with its eggs when it sitteth on them, so that the heat shall not destroy them."

"The heaven incloses in its bosom all the world, and it ever turns about us, swifter than any mill-wheel, all as deep under this earth as it is above. It is all round and entire and studded with stars."

Even the Middle Ages produced a few writers who recorded events of their own times with literary skill and considerable accuracy. History had its Matthew Paris and Froissart, as science had its Roger Bacon. But conditions were not favorable to good work. The materials for comprehensive history were widely scattered, and unavailable, before the days of printing and of easy travel; and the atmosphere of that "Age of Faith" was not conducive to the critical treatment of documents. Recorded events were accepted without question by the pious chroniclers, who plagiarized earlier writers, transcribed forgeries, and narrated miraculous occurrences with equal innocence.

Any historiographical sketch which space will permit must be drawn with so few strokes that the result will hardly amount to a caricature, much less a portrait. Nevertheless, it may be said that the Renaissance brought great progress in the arts of textual criticism, and that history as well as literature profited thereby. The Protestant Revolution, however, subordinated history to theological controversy, and retarded the development of disinterested secular scholarship.

The second half of the eighteenth century brought the forerunners of modern historical science. This was the age of rationalism—*die Aufklarung*. Criticism began to replace mere skepticism, and the scope of historical effort was widened. Voltaire's *Siecle de Louis XIV* was the first attempt to survey the whole life of a nation, and in this and the *Essai sur les Moeurs* he founded what we now call *Kulturgeschichte*—the history of civilization. To the same period belong Montesquieu, Hume, and Gibbon, whose names are no more to be forgotten than those of Newton and Priestley.

Despite the notable advance made by the rationalists their range was limited. They were essentially unhistorical in mind. The philosophy of their age stressed the theory of the social contract, with its assumption of a state of nature and of reasoned action by primitive mankind. This creed was the negation of history, and prevented careful study of the past. To Hume, the Anglo-Saxon period of England, so fertile a field for the student of institutional origins, was a "battle of kites and crows." Voltaire thought the Middle Ages as little worthy of study as the doings of wolves and bears. To such men the tremendous movement known as the crusades meant only the mad acts of religious fanatics.

In the early nineteenth century history escaped from the clutch of the rationalists under the inspiration of Romanticism; and historians re-discovered their kinship with the men of other ages. But unfortunately for critical work, the impulse of the Romantic historians was derived from literature; Chateaubriand and Scott were the masters of Thierry and his associates. Thierry tells us that his call to historical came while reading "*Les Martyrs*," in early youth. Fired by the vividness of the narrative, he sprang from his seat and marched up and down shouting "Pharamond, Pharamond, nous avons combattu avec l'épée!" It was *imagination* which made him the comrade of the heroes of the past. Many years afterwards he ended a chapter of his history with the words: "These men have been dead for seven hundred years. But what of it? For the imagination there is no past."

The past of the Romantics was vivid, but it was not the actual past. It mattered too little to Thierry that Pharamond was a myth. Something more than imagination was required for accurate reconstruction. History needed to combine the cool criticism of rationalism

with the re-creative power of the Romantic's imagination; and, moreover, like science, it needed the new insight and outlook which came with the later nineteenth century. In the course of the nineteenth century historians learned to unite the valuable elements in the methods of earlier writers of all schools, and to approach the whole task of portraying the past in the spirit begotten by the contemporary advance in the field of natural science.

Without further introduction, I may say that the historical science of today involves two main processes. The first of these has to do with the ascertainment of facts, and is usually spoken of as the "critical method." The seemingly simple task of extracting facts from the various sources of information is, in truth, formidable. The historian does not, as a rule, deal with facts which come within the range of his personal observation. He must arrive at them by sifting the testimony of other observers. This can be done only by finding correct answers to a host of questions, such as:

Is a given document, or historical source, what it appears to be? Who wrote it? When? Why? Is the document in question the original or a copy? If a copy, is it accurate? Can the inaccuracies of the copy be detected and a pure text restored? Given a pure text, are its statements corroborated by independent testimony? What is the meaning of the writer's statements? Is his language figurative or matter-of-fact? Are his words used in current or unusual senses? These and many other questions may be applicable at one time or other to the task of the critic, and may be easily answered or impossible to answer. The chemist would be in a position analogous to that of the historian if he depended for his knowledge of experiments upon the reports of his office boy.

The problems of criticism present every degree of difficulty. It may readily be granted that but slight acquaintance with critical method is required in classifying *Gulliver's Travels* as a product of the imagination. The spirit of the age safeguards the sane adult of the twentieth century from any error here. Nor is contemporary credulity likely to succumb to the evidence of veracity with which Baron Munchausen confronts us, in the shape of a certificate signed by Gulliver, Sinbad, and Aladdin.

Wide acquaintance with the sources in a given field is all that is necessary to afford the answer to many questions. An anonymous account comes to hand of an exploration of the James River just after the founding of Jamestown. Who is the author? The writer speaks of showing wounds received a few days before from Indians near the mouth of the stream. From other sources we learn that Captain Gabriel Archer was one of the men wounded in this encounter. Captain Archer's name is the only one of those wounded which appears in the roster of the exploring company which went up the river. Thus the authorship of the anonymous document is easily fixed upon him.

Similar, but more difficult, is the problem presented by the so-called "Pinckney plan." At the opening session of the constitutional convention at Philadelphia in 1787, Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, presented a plan for a federal union, at the same time that Governor Randolph brought forward the famous Virginia plan, which became the basis of the convention's discussions. A generation later, when the records of the convention were being prepared for publication, the editor wrote to Pinckney for a copy of his plan. Pinckney responded with a paper which he said he believed to be the document desired. The striking similarity between this instrument and the constitution as adopted speedily attracted attention, with some amusing results. South Carolinians hailed Pinckney as the true father of the constitution, although the debates showed that, beyond peradventure, his plan was virtually ignored in the discussions. The obvious truth was suggested by other survivors of the convention, notably Madison, that Pinckney had, by mistake and through lapse of memory, sent in the wrong document; but not until the present century did critical scholarship demonstrate that the document sent by Pinckney was, in fact, a draft of the constitution made by a committee when the work of the convention was nearing completion.

Another type of problem is suggested, in simple form, by the perplexity of the student who found in a document of early Virginia, a reference to "sodd wheat" as an article of food in use by the Indians. An acquaintance with the "King's English" of the time of James I would have resolved this difficulty; for does not the King James version of the Scriptures tell us that Jacob sodd (i.e., sowed) pottage, and bought Esau's birthright with a mess of it? The interpretation of a document, in history as in literature, requires, in short, familiarity with the language of the place and period which produced it, as well as a wide range of information concerning laws and customs—i.e., political, social, and religious institutions. To go no further afield than the First Charter of Virginia, witness the provision that the lands granted by the king to the Company are to be "holden of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, as of our Manor at East-Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage only, and not in Capite."

As I write these lines, the following comical illustration of the same point comes by chance to my attention: Father had for some time been watching the antics of the small son. These antics seemed to be a supplement to some school work. The boy read a passage, then lighted a fire on the hearth, then spat on the floor, then went over and whirled around a couple of times on the spot. Father could resist no longer, and asked what it was all about. The boy was dramatizing lines from the "Lays of Ancient Rome":

"On the hearth the fire was lit,
And the kid turns on the spit."

An excellent illustration of the importance of knowledge of the variations of language and institutions according to time and place is afforded by the story of the "False Decretals." These forged documents, found in the papal archives in the ninth century, imposed upon Europe for eight centuries. Even skepticism lacked the technical equipment for effective criticism until the historian was able to summon to his aid in his peculiar task a whole group of auxiliary sciences, some of them contributing also to other branches of learning or ranking as independent subjects—anthropology, archaeology, literature, philology, palaeography, epigraphy, diplomatics. Several of these auxiliaries played a part in the exposure of the forged decretals. Diplomatics proved that their form did not correspond with the official forms in use during the reigns of the popes from which they pretended to date. Although presuming to date from different centuries, philology showed that the style of all is the Frankish Latin of the ninth century. The theology of the ninth century, moreover, was injected into documents alleged to date from the second. And so on.

The equipment required for successful work in the more difficult fields of history is rather formidable, on the side of technique alone, notwithstanding the fact that the historian can levy tribute upon the workers in other sciences; and even in relatively simple fields the ablest investigator must walk warily. Nevertheless, one who employs the methods of modern criticism treads today with comparative safety where two or three generations ago very able men stumbled. It is no longer possible for a writer to gain first rank who perpetuates apochryphal stories or puts into the mouths of his characters imaginary speeches, as did Thierry, even though the speeches be found in the sources. The critical method, in brief, has made possible a high degree of accuracy in portraying the past—to use Ranke's phrase—"wie es eigentlich gewesen."

The second main process in historical science has to do with the use of facts when they have been ascertained by the critical method. History which merely transcribed sources, after eliminating spurious elements, without addition to or subtraction from the facts thus obtained, however accurate, would fail to satisfy the mind. It might be apologized for on the ground that history, like beauty, is its own excuse for being; but it would leave the reader wandering through a barren waste without guidance. Critical method in ascertaining verities must be supplemented by some principle governing the selection of facts from the known mass, and the organization of these, or purpose is wanting. The treatment of all facts as of equal value exalts mere antiquarianism and degrades social dynamics, until they meet on a common level of colorless inconsequence. All of which is to say that the historian must order his synthesis in accordance with some theory.

There are still occasional writers who treat history as a theodicy—a revelation of the hand of God controlling human affairs. Akin to these are the didactic historians, who seek to bring out the lessons of history, especially in the realm of morals, to foster patriotism or the civic virtues. Others tend to the literary treatment of events, marshalling them in such manner as to produce dramatic effects, making history an art product. Whatever may be said in favor of some use of these principles of organization, there is always danger that facts will be selected and used to support the theory, to the neglect of those which tend to refute it. Most historians are inclined to look askance upon efforts which seem to rest upon the belief that justice always overtakes the villain. They aim not only at a method of ascertaining facts which approaches the accuracy of chemical analysis, but also at a truly scientific synthesis.

Historians have gone to great lengths in the effort to apply the methods of the natural sciences to their subject matter. Attempts have been made to formulate the laws governing human actions with the precision of the law of gravitation or that of the periodicity of the elements. Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* was one of the notable attempts of this nature. "When we perform an action," he insisted, "we perform it in consequence of some motive or motives; those motives are the result of some antecedents; and.... therefore, if we were acquainted with the whole of the antecedents, and with all the laws of their movements, we could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their immediate results.... The actions of men must, under precisely the same circumstances, always issue in precisely the same results." Within a decade, Henry Adams, peerless among our own historians, has left his legacy to the profession in the form of the opinion that history must be written in future in the light of the law of the dissipation of mechanical energy.

From such extreme views most historians dissent. The action of chemical and physical forces is so invariable that one may predict future events; that is, one may be certain that what has happened will happen again under the same circumstances—and the same circumstances may recur, as in a chemical reaction. Buckle attempted to reduce history to an exact science analogous to physics and chemistry. But the conditions which he postulates can never exist. History does not repeat itself. Identical situations never recur. The events of history are unique; there can be, for all time, but one French Revolution, however similar other upheavals may be. Social phenomena escape the methods of the test tube. Buckle's formula fails to account for the phenomena presented even by the lower forms of life, and, although he does not admit it, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that his theory is merely a form of the doctrine of determinism.

There is much more ground for attempting to apply the methods of biological science to human affairs. Certain laws of group action may be deduced, which govern conduct where masses are concerned, among men as well as animals. But here, again, the significance of personality removes history from the sphere of biological science. Individual conduct fails to conform to any laws which can be formulated. Something may be learned of probable value in understanding the character of a man by an examination into his antecedents and his environment. Such inquiry is the habit of biographers, *ex post facto*. But even the most intimate acquaintance fails to empower one with ability to predict another's course with certainty. "I fear thy nature; it is too full o' the milk of human kindness," says Lady Macbeth. Yet in the end Macbeth outdoes his prompter in cruelty. A man's environment embraces everything from his undershirt to the starry heavens, and the isolation from this complex of influences, to say nothing of hereditary forces, of the antecedents of his actions is a task which transcends the method of all science down to the present writing. Science fails to give us certainties in dealing with personality. No two personalities are ever identical; no two can possibly embody the same complex of forces; only in a general sense is any man the product of his times—and many a prophet has been born out of due season. But personality, whether completely accounted for or not, must be reckoned with as a causal factor in history. Had Napoleon been shot as he led the charge across the bridge of Lodi, the whole current of history would have been changed. "Gustavus Adolphus is in the full career of victory, which to a moral certainty would have ended in the redemption of Germany. A wreath of mist comes over the field of Lutzen and separates him from his troops. He falls, and half Germany remains Catholic." Great personalities must engage the attention of historians, along with the processes which, in a general way, explain group action.

The conclusion that historical facts are unique facts, and the rejection of the view that history is a science in the same sense that chemistry and biology are sciences, is not equivalent to disclaiming the possibility of a scientific treatment of historical data. If he cannot, like the chemist, predict events through knowledge of the operation of undeviating laws, he can, as the geologist attempts to do, deal with the record of past occurrences with the purpose of revealing the process of evolution. On one point historians are substantially agreed—history does not consist of a series of isolated facts or accidental happenings. To science history owes, in large part, the genetic conception, and continuity is the key-word of the synthetic effort of the modern historian. Each age grows out of that which precedes; the present is different from all the past, but not disconnected. History is a process of becoming, and the task of the historian is to trace this continuous development, displaying so far as possible the chain

of causation. History derives its significance from the fact that the past is the parent of the present.

In the conception of all vital phenomena as processes of growth or development, history is at one with science. And in this fact lies the chief claim of history to be ranked as a science. Historical orthodoxy is at one with science, moreover, in its agnostic attitude on the questions of the origin and destiny of life. The individual historian may be Catholic, Jew, Protestant, or atheist, but so far as history goes he agrees with the Positivism of Compte and Garrison; his religion is something apart. Not only is the ultimate goal of the process of becoming beyond the range of his vision; he is likely to be skeptical even of the applicability of the word "progress" where only "change" is certain.

Historians, being subject to the usual limitations of mankind, despite their scientific conceptions and critical methods, tend continually to over-emphasize one historical influence or other. In view of the gigantic task of writing history in its totality, in view of the impossibility of a comprehensive synthesis, it is inevitable that each worker, forced to do a bit or fragment, will fail somewhat in perspective, and will in consequence magnify his own undertaking. Hence arise schools and fashions, not to say fads. One of the most notable controversies ever waged within the profession centered around the theories of Lamprecht's *Kulturgeschichte*. Among current tendencies may be mentioned the inclination towards the economic interpretation of history. Material interests loom large in the efforts of contemporary historians to find the motives for human conduct in the past, and subtle analysis is sometimes employed in the effort to show that material interests are fundamental in interpreting political and even religious history. We cannot pause to appraise the value of this manner of approaching historical phenomena; we doubtless have here a clue to the motivation of groups, and an element which should never be neglected, but which there is danger of over-stressing. A kindred fashion in recent writing lays weight upon the influence of geographical factors, especially as conditions determining economic life directly and political life indirectly. This is a phase of history which has engaged the writer to some extent. He has recently worked out in part the results on American history of the settlement of the Ohio valley. In brief his hypothesis was that American life, at the time when the United States became an independent nation, rested geographically upon the Atlantic slope. A generation later population had crossed the Alleghanies and redeemed an area in the wilderness beyond larger than that on the basis of which the nation's life was first organized. As conditions in the new settlements differed from those in the old, a new set of interests and ideals developed in the West, and forced a readjustment of the nation's life in accordance with its broadened geographical basis.

It is likely that each generation will re-write history to suit itself. This is not because the work of today will prove inaccurate as to facts, so much as that, however true, it will prove to be one-sided in emphasis. Each generation will regard the past from a new viewpoint, and hence will apply a different principle of selection in choosing its facts. The American historians of the middle of the nineteenth century saw in slavery the chief topic of our history. Why? Because that was the great public interest of their period, and they looked at the past through the smoke of the controversy. The current fondness for economic history is evidence that we live in an age dominated by industrial interests. For a considerable period to come, one may predict rather confidently that much effort will be spent in studying the causes of the World War, for the war and its aftermath will be an absorbing theme for many a day. Working upon bits or fragments of the whole, however, and over-emphasizing, inevitably, certain phases and forces at the expense of others, historians will perform their partial tasks in accordance with the canons of criticism and the genetic conception of the course of human events.

What value has history, so conceived? Does it serve merely to entertain, or gratify idle curiosity? Or is it susceptible of practical applications, as is true of chemistry, physics, zoology, botany, and geology. Does it serve to enlighten statesmanship by showing how coming events cast their shadows before them?

The very fact that each generation examines the past from the point of view of its dominant interests indicates that the past has light to shed upon present conditions. Certainly an understanding of the genesis of conditions is not without value. History is like travel, broadening the sympathies and enlarging the intellectual horizon; like experience, teaching somewhat of past mistakes and of the possibility of improving upon past ways of doing. Despite the lack of the character of exact science, which denies it the right to predict events, history is not wholly devoid of power to indicate the direction in which events are tending. It discovers the present potency of forces long at work; and if it cannot foretell the outcome, it can indicate the character of many of the problems of the near future. What student of nineteenth century history, looking backward, can fail to perceive the advance in popular participation in public affairs as one of its chief characteristics, or can fail to perceive that the history of the immediate future will be the story of the fortunes of the masses in their efforts to control society?

I have indicated a few of the aims of modern historians. Although I have sought to embrace them all under the common character implied in what has been said about the genetic conception of history held by modern writers, I have used the plural, *aims*, advisedly, and have said enough to show that it would have been rash to talk about the *aim* of historians; for, if all of the aims of all of them were set forth, I "suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written."

TREASURER'S REPORT—JANUARY 15, 1920

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, November 20, 1918	\$ 43.29
Dues to January 15, 1920	58.00
	<hr/> \$101.29

EXPENDITURES

June 25, 1919—Stationery	\$12.75
October 10, 1919—Postage	1.00
November 2, 1919—Postage	3.00
November 7, 1919—Printing programs	10.00
January 1, 1920—Janitor service . . .	1.00
	<hr/> \$27.75
Balance on hand, January 15, 1920 . .	\$73.54
	<hr/> \$101.29

Signed:

CARL WITTKE, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

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ANALYSIS OF THE NEW GERMAN CONSTITUTION

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MARCH, 1920

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I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This number presents an analysis, on historical and comparative lines, of the new German constitution.¹ Apart from the fact that it is the one complete document of this sort now available among the new instruments produced by the recent upheaval in central Europe, it presents many interesting illustrations of recent political tendencies. And as a dramatic event in the annals of political history, there are few more striking than this sudden transformation from the grandiose German empire, with its panoplied war-lord, its arrogant assumption of supremacy, its medieval divine-right monarchism, to the republic of republics with its extreme democracy, its pacific protestations, its saddler-president. We shall not consider here the question of the sincerity of the document (the reality of the conversion), nor the question of the probable success of the experiment. These questions can be answered only by the future; our present object is to discuss the constitution as the resultant of political forces that are historically traceable.

To give it its historical setting requires first of all placing it in relation to the great cause of change, the World War. The higher and more remote objects of the Allies, as vaguely adumbrated from the beginning, and as more sharply defined after our entrance into the war, and especially as formulated in the public utterances of President Wilson, were three: (1) To put an end to the constant menace of war that had for so many years hung over Europe, by creating a better order of international relations; (2) to establish a more natural political structure of Europe through the more complete application of the principle of nationality (as tested by "self-determination"); (3) to promote the spread of popular self-government in those states in which it had not been realized. The extent to which more particular and less idealistic aims entered into the calculations of our allies it would be invidious to discuss, and the matter, in any event, does not come within the range of this paper.

The overwhelming defeat and collapse of the Central Powers and the submission one after another of Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria, and Germany to the conditions of the Allies, made possible the carrying out of these larger purposes, as well as the securing of more definite objects in the way of rectifications of frontiers, cession of colonies, and payments of reparations. Whatever the future may show as to

¹ This number was ready for the printer when the excellent article of Professor Walter J. Shepard, of the University of Missouri, on "The New German Constitution," published in the *American Political Science Review*, of February, 1920, came to hand.

the wisdom of particular provisions, or as to their permanence, the new arrangement of Europe includes: (1) A League of Nations intended to promote international co-operation and the submission of disputes to judicial determination; (2) a central Europe made up of new states and of old states newly shaped in which the principle of nationality has been used as the test; (3) the extension to most of central Europe of the forms of republican and democratic government.

The last phenomenon has been manifested (1) in the former autocratic governments of Germany and of German Austria and Hungary, and (2) in the new states created from formerly repressed nationalities, such as Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. Jugo-Slavia is apparently to be a kingdom; at least, its official title as recognized by the great powers at the Peace Conference is "the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes." Roumania also retains its monarchial forms. The situation in Russia (and also in the former Russian possessions of the Baltic provinces and the Ukraine) is too unsettled still to permit of classification.

In the present study an attempt will be made to suggest the sources of the ideas and forms contained in the German constitution. It may make for clearness if we notice in advance the general kinds of sources. They may be grouped under three heads:

1. Features persisting from the imperial constitution, such as the preservation of the old state lines and the large measure of authority in administration left to the states, the position of the Chancellor, and the character of the Federal Council, resembling the old Bundesrat both in composition and in functions.

2. Features taken from the historical experience of older self-governing countries: English parliamentary practices in general, French four-year chamber and seven-year presidential tenure, American popular election of the president, etc.

3. Features reflecting the more recent experiences through which Germany has gone: the war, the German Social-Democratic agitation during the last stages of the war, the American appeals to German democracy, the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, and the Spartacist attempts in Germany. The effect of these events on the minds of the makers of the constitution is evident in the document.

It will also help to an understanding of the discussion if we review briefly the course of political events out of which the constitution came. It is probably not unhistorical to consider that the insistence of President Wilson on the necessity of a change in the German government as a prerequisite for negotiations had a decisive part in the fall of the imperial government, although, of course, democratic and socialist forces in Germany had been working for the same end. In October, 1918, attempts were made to meet criticisms by proposed reforms in the Prussian electoral system, in the relation of the Chancellor to the Reichstag, and in the relation of the military to

the civil authorities. These changes came too late to save the imperial system. On November 9 the emperor left Germany and took refuge in Holland; the crown prince followed and there was in the next few days a wholesale disappearance of kings and princes, rulers of the separate states. The collapse of the existing government opened the way for the extreme revolutionists, who in many places set up soldiers' and workers' councils and planned to create a general council of delegates, on the model of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. The head of this movement (known in Germany as Spartacist) was Karl Liebknecht, who had been released from prison in October. An orderly government had been established, however, immediately on the flight of the emperor; this was the "provisional government" under Ebert, head of the "Social-Democratic" party, as chancellor. The provisional government planned to call a National Convention for the making of a constitution and the prompt establishment of a regular government; the Spartacists aimed at seizing and holding power under a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and carrying out a complete social revolution before the construction of a political system. The provisional government won in the struggle. A Central Council of Soldiers' and Workers' Delegates which met in Berlin in December proved to be moderate in composition and supported the provisional government in its proposal of a constitutional convention. The elections to this body went strongly against the extremists, who elected only 22 delegates; the Social-Democrats (moderate socialists) had the largest number, 165; with the Democratic Party (the former Progressives and Radicals) they had a clear majority in the convention, a fact which determined the nature of the constitution. In the bloody week of January 6 to 12, the Spartacists made a determined effort in Berlin to seize power by violence, but the rising was crushed, and the convention met at Weimar in February and made the present constitution.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTION.¹

The constitution is divided into two parts: I. The Structure and Functions of the Commonwealth (Reich); and II. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Germans. It begins with this brief "Preamble:"

The German People, united in all their branches, and inspired by the determination to renew and strengthen their Commonwealth in liberty and justice, to preserve peace both at home and abroad, and to foster social progress, have adopted the following Constitution.—

Of the first part, Section 1 (articles 1-19) deals with the relations of the central government and the separate states. The first two articles state that the German Commonwealth (Deutsches Reich) is a republic, that political authority is derived from the people, and that the territory of the Commonwealth consists of the territories of the German states. The provision that other territories may be incorporated, if their inhabitants desire, evidently refers to German Austria, but this, of course, was prohibited by the action of the Supreme Council at the Peace Conference.

Article 4 evidently is meant as an assurance to the world that the new German nation repudiates the former international policies of the empire. It reads:

The generally recognized principles of the law of nations are accepted as an integral part of the law of the German Commonwealth.

Articles 6-13 carefully delimit the respective spheres of jurisdiction in the making of laws of the central government and the states. The central government has exclusive jurisdiction in matters concerning the whole nation: foreign relations, colonial affairs, citizenship, national defense, coinage, customs, posts and telegraphs, including telephones. It has concurrent jurisdiction with the states over a large number of matters, such as civil and criminal law and judicial procedure, poor-relief, public health, social insurance and other matters of social interests, socialization of natural resources and business, navigation, railroads, etc. Article 13 states that the laws of the central government are to prevail over the laws of the states in cases of conflict, and provides for appeal to a supreme judicial court in such cases. A paragraph in article 12 has a special and immediate significance in the fear that Spartacist movements might occur in the separate states; it provides that the National Cabinet may veto state laws on socialization whenever such laws affect the welfare of the nation.

¹ The text used is the translation published by the "World Peace Foundation," Vol. II, No. 6, and is the work of Professors William Bennett Munro and Arthur Norman Holcombe, of the Department of Government, Harvard University.

Article 14 reads: "The laws of the Commonwealth will be executed by the State authorities, unless otherwise provided for by national law." This preserves the practice under the empire, which differs from our own method of a fairly complete federal administration superimposed upon the state administration for the carrying out of federal authority. Article 15 provides, however, that the central government may send commissioners to the state governments to see to the execution of national laws.

Article 17 prescribes that every state must have a republican constitution, based on "universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage of all German citizens, both men and women, according to the principles of proportional representation."

Article 18 reads: "The division of the Commonwealth into States shall serve the highest economic and cultural interests of the people after most thorough consideration of the wishes of the population affected. State boundaries may be altered and new States may be created within the Commonwealth by the process of constitutional amendment." This is a principle quite different from that which operated in the original formation of the German empire, where the age-long Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, and other local feelings were tenderly considered. Whether the new principle will be applied (in the breaking up of Prussia, for example), is of course entirely problematical.

Section 2 (articles 20-40) deals with the National Assembly (Reichstag). This body resembles the French Chamber of Deputies, in that it is elected in its entirety for four years. The basis of representation is to be fixed by a national law; until that is done, the constitutional convention will act as the National Assembly. Delegates to the Assembly are to be elected by "universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage by all men and women over twenty years of age, in accordance with the principles of proportional representation." The Assembly meets every year. The President has the power to dissolve the National Assembly, but only once for the same cause. Dissolution of the Assembly by the President (acting, of course, for the Chancellor) is a means of appealing from the chamber to the people; it has its excuse in the possibility of a chamber elected for four years getting out of touch with public opinion. It worked badly, however, in France in the struggle between the President and the Chamber of Deputies in 1876-1879, and is of dubious value. The Chancellor and ministers, and also representatives of state governments, have the right to attend sessions of the Assembly. The usual provisions are made in regard to publicity of sessions, reports of proceedings, and parliamentary privilege of delegates.

Section 3 (articles 41-59) deals with the President and the National Cabinet (Reichsregierung). The President is elected for seven years by popular vote; every German who has completed his thirty-fifth

year is eligible for election. The popular election of the President presents the possibility of a conflict between the people's representatives in the Assembly and the people's choice as President. This is the less likely to occur, of course, because the President's powers are really nominal, being exercised, as will appear, at the instance of the Chancellor and the Cabinet; and these are responsible to the Assembly. There are, however, possibilities of conflict in these two features of the President's position, popular election and authority to dissolve the Assembly; the French practice of electing the President by the joint houses of the legislature seems safer in a parliamentary government.

The President is subject to recall. His functions are the usual ones of a head of the state. He represents the nation in its relations with other powers, concludes treaties and alliances, accredits and receives ambassadors. He appoints and dismisses civil and military officers, and has supreme command over armed forces. He has the duty of enforcing national laws on recalcitrant states, and may temporarily suspend the fundamental guarantees in time of disorder. In all this, however, he acts for the Cabinet; his orders and directions require the countersignature of the Chancellor or the appropriate minister, and such countersignature carries responsibility. The President is evidently to occupy a position similar to that of the French President; he is the official head of the state in whose name the Chancellor actually governs.

Articles 52-59 deal with the National Cabinet. This consists of the Chancellor and the ministers. These articles establish in the constitution the principle of ministerial responsibility. The President appoints the Chancellor and, on the Chancellor's approval, the other ministers. He also dismisses them, but this action must be purely formal, changes in the Cabinet being dependent on the disposition of the Assembly.

The Chancellor and the ministers require the confidence of the Assembly, and each of them must resign on a formal resolution by the Assembly of lack of confidence. The ministers are, therefore, individually responsible to the Assembly, but the provision that the Chancellor determines the general course of policy and assumes responsibility for it before the Assembly will apparently create a virtual solidarity of the Cabinet, such as is usual in parliamentary governments. In addition to being responsible to the Assembly, the Chancellor and the ministers are subject to impeachment by the Assembly before the supreme judicial court, a practice which varies from the usual one of impeachment before the upper house.

The National Council (Reichsrat) (Section 4, articles 60-67) resembles the Bundesrat of the old empire. It is not an elected body like the American and French Senates, nor an hereditary body like the House of Lords; it is composed of members of the cabinets of

the separate states. Each state has at least one vote; in the case of larger states, one vote for each million inhabitants. No state shall have more than two-fifths of all votes, but this provision is more generous toward Prussia than was the imperial constitution which gave Prussia only 17 votes out of 61 in the Bundesrat. The Council retains a good deal of the directing power which inhered in the old Bundesrat, and which made it so much more important than a mere upper house of legislature.

Section V (articles 68-77) is entitled "National Legislation." The legislative body is the National Assembly. Bills are introduced either by the Cabinet (government bills) or by individual members of the Assembly. Bills introduced by the Cabinet require the concurrence of the National Council. For ordinary legislation, the National Assembly acts alone; that is, bills passed by the Assembly become law on promulgation by the President and do not require to be passed by the Council. They are subject to referendum and also to objection by the Council. If the Council desires, it may file objections to a bill with the Cabinet and the bill must then be referred back to the Assembly; that body may, however, pass the bill over the objection of the Council by a two-thirds vote.

Section VI (articles 78-101), "National Administration," defines the authority of the central government over administrative affairs concerning the nation as a whole. These spheres are: foreign relations, national defense, colonial policy, merchant marine, customs, national taxation, postal and telegraph services, railroads serving as means of general communication, etc. Expenditures are to be regulated by a budget adopted as a law before the beginning of the fiscal year. Ownership of general railroads is to be acquired by the central government, which may also take over the systems owned by the separate states. The central government is to acquire ownership also of waterways.

Section VII (articles 102-108) deals with the administration of justice, but requires no special comment.

The second part of the constitution is devoted to "Fundamental Rights and Duties of Germans," in five sections: The Individual, Community Life, Religion and Religious Societies, Education and Schools, and Economic Life. Here are embodied the newer ideas produced by recent movements and events.

Section I (articles 109-118), "The Individual," contains the guarantees of rights of individual Germans. "All Germans are equal before the law. Men and women have fundamentally the same civil rights and duties. Privileges or discriminations due to birth or rank are abolished." Freedom from arbitrary imprisonment, the inviolability of the house, secrecy of postal communication, freedom of opinion, prohibition of censorship—these are the familiar features of

a "Bill of Rights." Article 113 of this section deserves to be quoted; its origin in the criticism of imperial Germany is evident. It reads:

Those elements of the people which speak a foreign language may not be interfered with by legislative or administrative action in their free and characteristic development, especially in the use of their mother tongue in the schools or in matters of internal administration and the administration of justice.

Section II (articles 119-134) concerns "Community Life:" relation of the state to family life, rights of assembly and petition, rights of association, etc. The duty of the state to assist families with numerous children and to provide special protection for motherhood is stated as a general principle, to be worked out later in national laws.

Section III (articles 135-141), "Religious Societies," provides for the complete laicization of the state. There is to be no state church, civil and political rights are in no way conditioned or limited by religious association, freedom of association in religious societies is guaranteed.

There are some interesting provisions in Section IV (articles 142-158) on "Education and Schools." The ideas in the minds of the makers of the constitution are obvious: the modern democratic principle that public education is essential for the training of the young in the duties of citizenship, the duty of the state to make such training possible for the poor, recognition of the rights of those who desire it to have religious instruction for their children, the importance of vocational education, and reaction against the tendency of the imperial school system to foster class distinctions. These influences appear in the following provisions:

Attendance at school is obligatory. This obligation is discharged by attendance at the elementary schools for at least eight school years and at the continuation schools until the completion of the eighteenth year. Instruction and school supplies in the elementary and continuation schools are free.

The public school system shall be systematically organized. Upon a foundation of common elementary schools the system of secondary and higher education is erected. The development of secondary and higher education shall be determined in accordance with the needs of all kinds of occupations, and the acceptance of a child in a particular school shall depend upon his qualifications and inclinations, not upon the economic and social position or the religion of his parents.

Nevertheless, within the municipalities, upon the petition of those entitled to instruction, common schools shall be established of their faith or ethical system, in so far as this does not interfere with a system of school administration within the meaning of Paragraph 1. The wishes of those entitled to instruction shall be considered as much as possible. Details will be regulated by State laws in accordance with principles to be prescribed by a national law.

To facilitate the attendance of those in poor circumstances at the secondary and higher schools, public assistance shall be provided by the Commonwealth, States, and municipalities, particularly assistance to the parents of children regarded as qualified for training in the secondary and higher schools, until the completion of the training.

All schools shall inculcate moral education, civic sentiment, and personal and vocational efficiency in the spirit of German national culture and of international conciliation.

In the instruction in public schools care shall be taken not to hurt the feelings of those of differing opinion.

Civics and manual training are included in the school curriculum. Every pupil receives a copy of the Constitution on completing the obligatory course of study.

The common school system, including university extension work, shall be cherished by the Commonwealth, States and municipalities.

Religious instruction is included in the regular school curriculum, except in the nonsectarian (secular) schools. The imparting of religious instruction is regulated by the school laws. Religious instruction is imparted in accordance with the principles of the religious society concerned, without prejudice to the right of supervision of the state.

The imparting of religious instruction and the use of ecclesiastical ceremonies is optional with the teachers, and the participation of the pupils in religious studies and in ecclesiastical ceremonies and festivities is left to the decision of those who have the right to control the religious education of the child.

The theological faculties in the universities will be continued.

Section V (articles 151-165), "Economic Life," contains more of the ultra-modern features to be expected from such a constitutional convention than any other section. They are radical and social-democratic in character, but betray the fear of Spartacist excesses also. The right of private property and of inheritance are guaranteed; on the other hand, many socialist or communist ideas are adopted. These, however, appear in the constitution as general principles, and the extent to which they may be worked out in national laws is left to future legislation. They have, indeed, somewhat the character of a platform intended to justify the work of the convention and prove the good intentions of the Social-Democrats against the carpings of the extreme revolutionists.

As declarations of principles they have sufficient importance to deserve some extended quotation. The more significant follow:

The regulation of economic life must conform to the principles of justice, with the object of assuring humane conditions of life for all. Within these limits the economic liberty of the individual shall be protected.

The distribution and use of the land is supervised by the state in such a way as to prevent its misuse and to promote the object of insuring to every German a healthful dwelling and to all German families, especially those with numerous children, homesteads corresponding to their needs. War veterans shall receive special consideration in the enactment of a homestead law.

Landed property, the acquisition of which is necessary to satisfy the demand for housing, to promote settlement and reclamation, or to improve agriculture, may be expropriated. Entailments shall be dissolved.

The cultivation and utilization of the soil is a duty of the landowner toward the community. An increase of the value of land arising without the application of labor or capital to the property shall inure to the benefit of the community as a whole.

All mineral resources and all economically useful forces of nature are subject to the control of the state. Private royalties shall be transferred to the state, as may be provided by law.

The Commonwealth may by law, without impairment of the right to compensation, and with a proper application of the regulations relating to expropriation, transfer to public ownership private business enterprises adapted for socialization. The Commonwealth itself, the States, or the municipalities may take part in the management of business enterprises and associations, or secure a dominating influence therein in any other way.

Furthermore, in case of urgent necessity the Commonwealth, if it is in the interest of collectivism, may combine by law business enterprises and associations on the basis of administrative autonomy, in order to insure the co-operation of all producing elements of the people, to give employers and employees a share in the management, and to regulate the production, preparation, distribution, utilization and pecuniary valuation, as well as the import and export, of economic goods upon collectivistic principles.

The co-operative societies of producers and of consumers and associations thereof shall be incorporated, at their request and after consideration of their form, organization and peculiarities, into the system of collectivism.

For the purpose of conserving health and the ability to work, of protecting motherhood, and of guarding against the economic effects of age, invalidity and the vicissitudes of life, the Commonwealth will adopt a comprehensive system of insurance, in the management of which the insured shall predominate.

The Commonwealth commits itself to an international regulation of the legal status of the workers, which shall strive for a standard minimum of social rights for the whole working class of the world.

Every German has, without prejudice to his personal liberty, the moral duty so to use his intellectual and physical powers as is demanded by the welfare of the community.

Every German shall have the opportunity to earn his living by economic labor. So long as suitable employment can not be procured for him, his maintenance will be provided for. Details will be regulated by special national laws.

The last article (not counting the Transitional and Final Provisions), contains an evident concession to the extreme socialists, an attempt to find a compromise between the political democracy which the constitution establishes and the industrial or soviet organization of society advocated by the Spartacists. It is important enough to quote:

Wage-earners and salaried employees are qualified to co-operate on equal terms with the employers in the regulation of wages and working conditions, as well as in the entire economic development of the productive forces. The organizations on both sides and the agreements between them will be recognized.

The wage-earners and salaried employees are entitled to be represented in local workers' councils, organized for each establishment in the locality, as well as in district workers' councils, organized for each economic area, and in a National Workers' Council, for the purpose of looking after their social and economic interests.

The district workers' councils and the National Workers' Council meet together with the representatives of the employers and with other interested classes of people in district economic councils and in a National Economic Council for the purpose of performing joint economic tasks and co-operating in the execution of the laws of socialization. The district economic councils and the National Economic Council shall be so constituted that all substantial vocational groups are represented therein according to their economic and social importance.

Drafts of laws of fundamental importance relating to social and economic policy before introduction into the National Assembly shall be submitted by the National Cabinet to the National Economic Council for consideration. The National Economic Council has the right itself to propose such measures for enactment into law. If the National Cabinet does not approve them, it shall, nevertheless, introduce them into the National Assembly together with a statement of its own position. The National Economic Council may have its bill presented by one of its own members before the National Assembly.

Supervisory and administration functions may be delegated to the workers' councils and to the economic councils within their respective areas.

The regulation of the organization and duties of the workers' councils and of the economic councils, as well as their relation to other social bodies endowed with administrative autonomy, is exclusively a function of the Commonwealth.

The recent experience of the Ebert government with the general strike called to overthrow the militarists, makes the provisions in this article appear very dangerous. It is not likely that the workers' councils will obligingly confine themselves to social and economic matters, but will seek to use political pressure and control political affairs; if they come into the hands of the extremists, a conflict between the constitutional government and the workers' councils is a very real possibility. The central government, of course, will try to regulate and control the councils. The outcome of this measure will be an interesting feature of future developments.

III. CONCLUSION

Such are the main features of this newest instrument of government. Our interest in it is obviously of two sorts: (1) as a result of the ideas and forces which have been characteristic of recent history, especially of the most recent tendencies, such as woman suffrage, referendum and recall, proportional representation, socialization of natural resources and of industry, etc.; (2) as an event needing to be understood for an intelligent appreciation of the future course of events in Germany and in central Europe. Like every constitution its future will be determined by forces not foreseen and not to be controlled by its makers. The more precise laws to be made later for putting it in operation may modify it seriously in either a radical or a moderate direction; it may not survive at all the storms of reactionary and revolutionary conflicts which are even now raging. In any event, it is worth studying as a phase in recent history.

On these grounds it was thought worth while to present this brief analysis for the use of teachers who have nowadays to deal in class with the complicated processes at work in present Europe. It is difficult enough at best to treat current events in an historical way, and it is hoped that this sketch will be of some use in that task as far as the movements in Germany are concerned.

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PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

It is planned to hold the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Ohio History Teachers' Association on Friday and Saturday, October 15 and 16. These dates are the two last days of the Semicentennial Celebration of the Ohio State University, an event of nation-wide interest. The Ohio Valley Historical Association will hold its meetings on the same dates and there will be joint sessions of the two associations, as well as our own separate meetings. The occasion of the Semicentennial will furnish a splendid opportunity to the history teachers of Ohio to attend the ceremonies and to hear educational leaders of national reputation. We are making a special effort to present an interesting program for our own association, and plan to arrange our meetings so as to make possible attendance on the principal affairs of the Semicentennial. Every history teacher in Ohio should attend this meeting.

TEACHING ENGLISH IN THE HISTORY RECITATION

By C. C. ECKHARDT, PH.D.

Associate Professor of History, University of Colorado

All teachers of English in both secondary schools and colleges maintain that the task of teaching English is too great for them to achieve alone: that the teachers of all other subjects must co-operate with the English teachers and do their share in equipping students with an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of English.

Certainly the history teacher must concern himself considerably with the problem of teaching English. Not only high-school teachers of history, but also college teachers must devote much attention to this task. Here I do not mean merely correcting the students' false grammar, spelling and punctuation, or calling attention to solecisms, though that ought to be done by teachers in all departments. The teacher of history must see to it that his students get a particular kind of drill in English, at least that they get a certain equipment that will enable them to understand the vocabulary of history, accurately to visualize events and comprehend institutions. Without such knowledge the student cannot understand the text-book, the reading references and class discussions.

One of the deplorable facts about our present educational conditions is that relatively few students own unabridged dictionaries or have access to them in their homes. There ought to be an enforceable requirement that each student should own a dictionary or have one easily accessible. Our students do not have the dictionary habit; in their reading they do not look up words that are not immediately clear to them, let alone words that are new and unfamiliar.

During the past two weeks these instances have occurred in my own college class in Freshman History. One student, after having repeatedly dealt with suffrage qualifications in European countries, in one of the quiz sections blithely asked the meaning of "franchise." Several others asked what is meant by "status quo," an expression used several times in the text, the required readings and in the lectures. In one recent quiz section I used the word "altruistic" in a question directed at one of the capable students. From the discomfort and perplexity manifested by the student I immediately conjectured that "altruistic" was not in the vocabulary that he controlled. After having another member of the class explain the word the first student could answer the original question. On the basis of

this experience I asked the same question in three other quiz sections and in each case the word was either wholly misunderstood or its meaning too vague in the mind of the student for him to venture an answer.

One is surprised time and again to find that he is using terms that with justice to the students ought to be explained immediately upon being used. Once while lecturing on medieval Germany to a Freshman class I pointed out that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the German kings were elected by the greater nobles, but that there was no definite law or custom regulating this matter, that at one election a certain group of nobles would elect the king and at the next election the personnel of the electing body would be partly or even largely different. In a quiz section that was made up entirely of the twenty-five best students in a class of 175, I failed to get any answer at all when I asked the question: "Who elected the German kings in the tenth and eleventh centuries?" Finally a very capable young woman volunteered the information that "the German kings were elected by the personnel." Thereafter when using that word before a Freshman class I always felt impelled to give in addition an understandable synonym. A similar incident happened when discussing the doctrine of the "Petrine Supremacy" as one of the things explaining the rise of the power of the bishop of Rome over the Church in the west. In one quiz section in answer to the question who it was that formulated the doctrine of the Petrine Supremacy, a fairly able student answered "Petrine." It had never occurred to me that in a class of almost 200 college freshmen there would be anyone lacking sufficient etymological sense to see instantly that "Petrine" was an adjective derived from "Peter," especially after I had referred to the Apostle Peter repeatedly in discussing the doctrine in the lecture, and of course, the text and assigned readings had done the same.

In any text there are apt to be used many expressions that have two or more meanings. It is quite possible for the student to know one of these meanings and apply it, thereby getting an entirely erroneous impression from the sentence he is reading. In an English History class a teacher was having the students recite on Henry II and asked what the class knew about Eleanor of Aquitaine. After a delay one boy volunteered the information that Eleanor was very fat. The astonished teacher inquired the source of that information. The boy insisted that it was in the text and triumphantly pointed to the line, "Eleanor was one of Henry's stoutest supporters."

One does not always suspect it, but occasionally students have an etymological sense that now and then leads to humorous conclusions. A teacher in Ancient History requested a student to summarize the reign of Diocletian. As one of the outstanding facts the boy stated that "in the reign of Diocletian they could not get people to marry." The surprised teacher said, "Why, I don't remember of seeing that in

the text." But the student said, "Yes sir, here it is, 'In the reign of Diocletian husbandry was greatly decreased.' "

These instances cited above show how important it is that the teacher should ever be mindful of the fact that he is not merely teaching history, but English as well, not incidentally, but as a significant part of the work. In the high-school part of the assignment of every lesson should be devoted to calling attention to and explaining the difficult words of the next day's lesson. Anticipate the words that are apt to give the student difficulty in understanding the text; have the class underscore or check certain words to be looked up in the dictionary. Make the students get the dictionary habit. This, of course, should not be done merely by the History and English teachers, but ought to be insisted on by the teachers of all subjects.

In my own experience with college Freshmen and even upper classmen I have found it extremely important and profitable to dwell on abstract terms such as democracy, patriotism, society, religion, culture, civilization, progress, individualism, institutions and many others. Some of these are vague and intangible terms, yet how can one understand history without having a clear concept of each of these and scores of similar words? At times when dealing with medieval culture I have taken the whole quiz hour leading the class to an understanding of *culture*. We have considered such questions as these: How is culture related to education, refinement, social bearing? Does merely love of good music, beautiful pictures, artistic buildings and inspiring landscapes make one cultured? Must one pay attention to dress and manners to be cultured? Much of medieval culture was religious; need one be religious to be cultured? Is it necessary for a cultured person to be able to read and write? What languages must one know to be cultured? Are there degrees of culture among peoples and individuals? Does culture imply growth in nations and in individuals? Are there limits to the degree or fullness of culture? Can a person be cultured and have a race prejudice or be religiously intolerant? Will a cultured person be conservative, moderate, liberal or radical in his politics or economic outlook? Will a cultured person favor social reform? After an hour spent considering these and other questions the student has a fairly clear idea of what is meant by culture today and knows that in many ways the conditions of culture of the present are more exacting than in medieval times. A thorough drill in studying one such abstract term enables the student to acquire an equally comprehensive concept of other abstract terms.

The teacher of history, then, has many opportunities to teach English; in fact, there are some kinds of English teaching that are of special importance in the teaching of history and can be done by none but history teachers.

A SYLLABUS FOR HISTORY SINCE THE END OF THE WAR

The following syllabus is presented on the principle that the record of any experience in teaching the history since the close of the war may be useful to others who are undertaking the same task. It is part of the outline used in the courses at the University on the History of the World War, the second semester of which was devoted to the events from the armistice to the present. Part of this period is past and completed history; not very far past, to be sure, and not easy to put in perspective; still it is history, in a sense. The armistice, the Peace Conference, the League of Nations, the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, and Neuilly, the new constitution of Germany, are past events, even if we cannot yet judge their permanence and their significance. Modern history must include the war and its outcome, and the tendency will probably be to find more and more time at the end of the course for these last phases. Until these events get into the text-books, the difficulty of finding and organizing the material is very great, and the outline and references given here may be of some use.

The outlines presented in this number cover the history of the Peace Conference, the League of Nations, and the territorial settlement. Other parts will be presented later.

I. *The Peace Conference.*

1. The armistice.

a. Events leading to the armistice.

September 30—Prince Maximilian of Baden succeeds von Hertling as Chancellor of the German Empire.

October 5—Prince Max sends note to President Wilson through the Swiss Government: "Requests the President to take in hand negotiations for peace"; accepts program set forth in the President's message to Congress of January 8, 1918 (the "fourteen points") and especially in the address of September 27 (Metropolitan Opera House speech).

October 7—Austria-Hungary sends similar note, referring especially to President's speech of February 12.

October 8 to November 5—Exchange of notes; in the last one, President announces that he has submitted request for armistice to the allies, who have accepted the "fourteen points" as basis, with reservations on two points: freedom of the seas, and reparations.

November 8—German plenopetentiaries arrive at allied General Headquarters.

November 11—Armistice signed.

- b. Terms of the armistice.

2. History of the Peace Conference.

- a. Earlier organization; the Interallied Supreme War Council. This was created November 9, 1917, by conference between premiers of France, Great Britain and Italy, with chiefs of staff. November 18, President Wilson appointed Colonel House to Supreme War Council, with General Bliss, chief of staff, as military adviser.

- b. Arrangements for the Peace Conference made by the Supreme War Council. President Wilson arrives in Paris December 14; conferences with premiers of chief allies. Organization of Peace Conference arranged.

- c. States represented.

United States, British Empire, France, Italy, Japan—5 delegates each.

British Dominions have their own representatives; Australia, Canada, South Africa, India—2 each; New Zealand—1; Brazil, Belgium, Serbia—3 each; China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Siam—2 each; Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Uruguay—1 each.

- d. Personnel of the Peace Conference.

Delegations made up for most part of premiers, foreign ministers, and other government members; assembly included, therefore, professional statesmen and diplomats, rather than elected representatives. Many famous figures of recent history. Following names indicate quality of the assemblage: France, Clemenceau, premier, Pichon, foreign minister, Cambon, former French ambassador to Germany; Great Britain, Lloyd George, prime minister, Arthur Balfour, foreign secretary; Italy, Orlando, premier, Sonnino, foreign minister. The American delegation was: President Wilson, Robert Lansing, secretary of state; White, ambassador to France; Colonel House, confidential adviser of the President, and General Bliss, chief of staff. Other interesting figures were: General Smuts of South Africa; Venizelos, the famous Greek statesman; Bratiano of Rumania, and Paschitch of Serbia, prominent figures in recent Balkan history.

- e. Organization.—First Plenary Session, January 18, 1919; Clemenceau elected chairman; regulations adopted.

- f. Organs.

1. Supreme Council.—Made up of the two ranking delegates of the five great powers (Committee of Ten); the controlling and directing organ; almost constant sessions.
2. Commissions.—In general, five delegates from five great powers and five chosen from the rest; report to the Supreme Council. Commission on League of Nations, Responsibility for War, Reparations, International Labor Legislation, Regulations of Ports, Waterways, and Railways.
3. Plenary Sessions.—Meeting of all the delegates; the Congress of the Peace Conference. Hears reports and decisions from the Supreme Council, listens to speeches, and ratifies; little real action. List of Plenary Sessions indicates character: January 18, organization; January 25, hears plan for League of Nations; February 14, proposed constitution of League of Nations read and adopted; April 11, report of International Labor Commission read and adopted; April 28, revised Covenant of the League of Nations read and adopted; May 6, adopts terms of treaty to be presented to Germany.
4. Making the treaty with Germany.
 - a. Preparing the treaty. The work of the Supreme Council, which had not only to settle perplexing details, but also to smooth out differences which arose between the allies themselves. In March the Committee of Ten was replaced by the Committee of Four (President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando); Orlando withdrew for a time because of difference over Fiume. The extreme complexity of the problems to be settled, the disturbances in Europe which the Supreme Council tried to regulate, and the differences among the allies which had to be settled, lest they divide the allies in the face of Germany before the treaty had been made—these things account for the months spent in preparing the treaty (January to May).
 - b. Negotiations with Germany.
 1. Invitation to Germany to send delegates; question of their powers.
 2. Arrival of German delegates at Versailles, April 29.
 3. Presenting the peace terms to German delegates, May 7; von Brockdorff-Rantzau's speech.
 4. Exchange of notes; no joint discussion; allies refuse to modify terms in essential points.

- c. Signing the Treaty of Versailles; historic scene of June 28, 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors of the Chateau of Versailles.

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1. Chronicle of events from the armistice to the signing of the treaty.

Political Science Quarterly, Sept., 1919, Supplement, "Record of Political Events to July, 1919."

Current History, Jan., 1919, and following months, "Chronicle of the Armistice Period."

Literary Digest for these months, "Current Events," near end of each issue.

Current Opinion, "A Review of the World," beginning of each issue.

2. Documents and articles.

President Wilson's addresses: in *President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses*, edited by Albert Shaw; or Scott, *President Wilson's Foreign Policy*, or *President Wilson's Great Speeches*.

Current History, Feb., 1918 (The "fourteen points").

Current History, Nov., 1918 (Metropolitan Opera House address, Sept. 27, 1918).

Current History, Dec., 1918, pp. 364-368 (armistice terms).

Review of Reviews, Dec., 1919, pp. 639 ff. (armistice terms).

Current History, Feb., 1919, pp. 191-197; March, pp. 381-404; April, pp. 1-21 (organization of the Peace Conference).

Review of Reviews, May, June, August, October, December, 1919, Frank Simonds' articles on the Peace Conference.

Current History, August, 1919, pp. 191-225, "Signing the Peace Treaty."

II. *The League of Nations.*

1. Past History; three elements: super-government of Europe, prevention of war, international administration for common interests.

A. Super-government.

- a. 17th and 18th century peace congresses.

- b. Congress of Vienna, 1815; "Holy Alliance"; "concert of powers" and the congresses; intervention and repression.

- c. Congress of Paris, 1856; Congress of Berlin, 1878.

- d. Failure of concert, due to formation of two rival groups of powers, after 1878.

- B. Prevention of war.
 - a. International law; meaning; limitations; value as a concept.
 - b. Hague conferences, 1899, 1907:
 - 1. Impetus: fear of disastrous character of modern war in modern complex society; crushing weight of armaments.
 - 2. Failure to satisfy larger hopes.
 - 3. Achievements: international courts; formulation of international law.
 - c. Arbitration treaties.
- C. International administration: Postal Union, Danube Commission, etc.
- 2. Development of the idea during the war.
 - A. Various unofficial proposals: League to Enforce Peace, Ford's Peace Ship and party, European neutral, socialist, pacifist, and women's congresses.
 - B. Adoption of idea as an essential part of the future settlement by the President of the United States.
 - a. Before the war: address before League to Enforce Peace, May 27, 1916; note to belligerents, December 18, 1916; address to Senate, January 22, 1917.
 - b. In the war messages.
 - C. Attitude of the allies before the Peace Conference.
- 3. Making the Covenant at the Peace Conference.
 - a. The Commission.—Named at the Second Plenary Session, January 25; two members from each of the five great powers, and five from the rest. Leading figures: President Wilson, Lord Robert Cecil, General Smuts, Leon Bourgeois; all identified by past or recent efforts with the movement for a genuine League of Nations.
 - b. Plans before the Commission; sources of the document. President's draft (British origin?); General Smuts' proposals; Cecil's proposals (see Bullitt's testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee).
 - c. Commission reports draft to Plenary Session, February 25; report adopted.
 - d. Revision of the draft by the Commission on the basis of public discussion in the United States and elsewhere.
 - e. Covenant of the League of Nations reported to Plenary Session, April 28, and adopted.
- 4. Analysis of the Covenant.
 - a. Preamble; objects: "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security."
 - b. Constitution.

1. Membership; Article I.
 2. Council; composition, nine members, five from United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan; four chosen from other members; powers and functions.
 3. Assembly; composition, representatives of all the members, each member to have one vote and not more than three delegates; powers and functions.
 4. Secretariat.
 5. Permanent bureaux and commissions: Commission on Armaments, International Labor Bureau, Mandatory Commission.
- c. Means of preventing war.
 1. Disarmament provisions, Art. VIII.
 2. Provisions for judicial or arbitral settlement of disputes, Arts. X-XV.
 3. Joint action in preventing aggression or recourse to war without previous submission to arbitration, Arts. X, XVI, XVII.
 - d. Mandatory system, Art. XXII.

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Brailsford, The League of Nations.
Kallen, The League of Nations.
Hobson, Toward International Government.
Toynbee, The New Europe.
Weyl, American World Politics.
2. Texts of the Covenant:
Senate Document, No. 46.
Current History, June, 1919, pp. 506-514.
Pamphlet issued by the League to Enforce Peace.
Pamphlet issued by the World Peace Foundation, title: "Treaty of Peace with Germany"; includes text of the Covenant; five cents in quantities.
3. Discussions of the League:
Hearings of Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Bullitt's testimony).
Nation, February 8, 1919, General Smuts' plan.
Living Age, May 3, 1919. Viscount Bryce, "The Covenant—a Critical Commentary."
Fortnightly, September, 1919. Dawson, "The League and the Peace."
Nineteenth Century, July, 1919. Dewar, "Peace According to Versailles, 1919."

III. *The Territorial Rearrangement of Europe.*

1. Historical Retrospect; the origins of the unnatural and unfair geography of 1914.
 - A. Growth of power-states before 1815:
 - a. Prussia: territorial aggression.
 - b. Austria: conglomerate empire, dynastic principle, expansion.
 - c. Russia: expansion to sea and to west.
 - B. Settlement of 1815, in interests of Russia, Prussia and Austria; bad features:
 - a. Polish settlement.
 - b. Divided Germany.
 - c. Italy divided, dominated by Austria.
 - d. Turkey in Europe.
 - C. Progress of national idea to 1878:
 - a. Unification of Germany.
 - b. Unification of Italy.
 - c. Partial freeing of Balkan states.
 - D. Uncorrected features:
 - a. Poland.
 - b. Austrian conglomerate.
 - c. Incomplete Italian nationality.
 - d. Incomplete Balkan settlement.
 - E. New evils resulting from Bismarck's empire and later German ambitions:
 - a. Alsace-Lorraine.
 - b. Schleswig-Holstein.
 - c. Austrian aggressions in Balkans (note, however, advance in Balkans in war, 1912-1913).
 - F. Results in 1914:
 - a. Submerged nations—Poles, Czechoslovaks, Letts, Finns, etc.
 - b. Parts of nations held by foreign powers:
 1. Italia irredenta.
 2. Alsace-Lorraine.
 3. Schleswig.
 4. Bosnia and other South Slavs in Austria.
 5. Roumanians in Hungary.
2. Territorial changes in the treaty with Germany.
 - A. On the west:
 - a. Alsace-Lorraine (in the armistice before the treaty).
 2. Rhine Provinces; France's desire for annexation; Saare Valley compromise.
 - B. On the north: Schleswig plebiscite.

- C. On the east: West Prussia to Poland; Danzig, free state; plebiscite in East Prussia.
- D. Colonies.
- 3. Dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
 - A. German Austria: limits:
 - a. Frontier with Italy.
 - b. Frontier with Czecho-Slovakia.
 - c. Frontier with Jugo-Slavia.
 - B. Hungary; limits:
 - a. Frontier with Czecho-Slovakia.
 - b. Frontier with Roumania.
 - c. Frontier with Serbia (Jugo-Slavia).
- 4. New States in Central Europe.
 - A. Poland; territory; disputed frontiers.
 - B. Czecho-Slovakia; racial composition; territory; disputes.
 - C. Jugo-Slavia (kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes); racial composition; territory.
 - a. Fiume dispute with Italy.
 - b. Other frontiers; Banat, Bulgaria, Albania.
- 5. Balkan questions.
 - A. Albania; interests of Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Greece.
 - B. Bulgaria and Greece in Thrace.
 - C. Roumania; in Bessarabia, etc.
 - D. The disposition of Constantinople.
- 6. Turkey and Western Asia.
 - A. Limits of an independent Ottoman state.
 - B. Asia Minor; Greek coast, south coast.
 - C. Armenia.
 - D. Mesopotamia.
 - E. Syria.
 - F. Persia.
- 7. The Far East.
 - A. China and Japan; the Shantung question.
 - B. Korea.

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NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS

We may expect early revisions of existing text-books on Modern History, to include the war, the treaties of peace, and the new movements in Europe. Some have been announced already, as Schevill's *Political History of Modern Europe*, and Robinson's *History of Western Europe*, and others will soon follow. In the meantime, publishers are getting out separate works on the history of the war. Some of which have appeared are:

Hayes, Carleton J. H. *A Brief History of the War* (Macmillan). Largely a history of the political and military events during the war. Has an excellent chapter (45 pp.) on the settlement. Appendices: The Covenant of the League of Nations, Senate Reservations to the Treaty of Versailles, Proposed Agreement between France and the United States.

McPherson, William L. *A Short History of the Great War* (Putnam). By the military expert of the New York Tribune.

Some interesting works on the Peace Conference:

Keynes. *Economic Consequences of the Peace Conference* (Harcourt). Made a great stir by its criticism of the makers of the Peace, President Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George. Attacked the reparations provisions on the ground that they were impossible of fulfillment by Germany and fatal to the peace of Europe.

Dillon, E. J. *Inside History of the Peace Conference* (Harpers). By a well-known writer on international affairs, for a long time connected with the *Contemporary Review*.

The Ohio History Teachers' Journal

*Issued in January, March,
May, and November*

BULLETIN NO. 19
NOVEMBER, 1920



SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY AT COLUMBUS

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The Ohio History Teachers' Journal

Official Organ of The Ohio History Teachers' Association.

Issued in January, March, May, and November.

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NOVEMBER, 1920

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SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

This number of the JOURNAL contains a report of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Association, which was held at Ohio State University, October 15 and 16. The meeting was held jointly with that of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, and the two presidential addresses are published here. There is printed also an article sent out by the Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior which, it is thought, will be of interest to members of the association.

The first session was held in the Archaeological Hall, Friday evening, October 15. This was under the direction of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, Professor Siebert, President of that association, acting as chairman. The following papers were presented:

Hon. Daniel Ryan, "The Scioto Valley."

Professor H. C. Hockett of Ohio State University, "The Extinction of the Indian Title Beyond the Greenville Line."

Professor E. A. Miller of Oberlin University, "New England Influences on Public Education in Ohio."

The second session was held at the same place Saturday morning, October 16, under the direction of the Ohio History Teachers' Association, the president, Professor Kenneth Latourette, acting as chairman. Professor S. H. Ziegler, Director of History and Civics, read a paper on "The Teaching of History in the Cleveland High Schools;" this led to the adoption of a resolution to publish the outline on Modern History, presented in connection with this paper, in the JOURNAL. This document will be a feature of the next number. Professor George H. Johnson of the Case School of Applied Sciences, talked on "The Good, the Better, the Best in History Teaching," which was mainly an exposition of the topical method used in the schools of Rochester, New York. Mr. Edward S. Dowell read a paper on "The Method of History Instruction Used in the Bucyrus High School." Two papers on practice teaching in History from the high school teachers' and the College of Education students' point of view were read respectively by Mr. E. M. Selby of North High School, Columbus, and Miss Uda M. Bolen, New Albany High School.

The luncheon session was also a joint session with the Ohio Valley Historical Association; the presidential addresses were followed by

remarks on sources for the history of Ohio, by Mr. C. B. Galbreath, Secretary and Librarian of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.

At the business session, these officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President: S. H. ZIEGLER, Cleveland.

Vice-President: MISS ANNENETTE WALSH, Columbus.

Secretary-Treasurer: CARL WITTKE, Columbus.

Members of the Executive Committee: ARTHUR M. HIRSCH, Delaware, and MISS INEZ ORBISON, Cleveland.

A HISTORY TEACHER'S CONFESSION OF FAITH*

By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE
Professor of History in Denison University

The topic on which I am to speak to you today is by no means a new one. On it all of us have thought and many of us have perhaps written and spoken. It is one which, in at least some of its phases, this Association has frequently discussed. We can scarcely think on it too frequently. Like the creed which some of us repeat Sunday by Sunday it has to do with a subject to which we need to recur again and again, partly to prevent ourselves from becoming lost in our daily routine, unmindful of the significance of what we are doing, partly for the inspiration that comes from a sense of vocation, and partly as a standard by which to measure the success or the failure of our work. In treating such a subject it occurs to me that the greatest help that one can be to another is to give his own confession of faith, hoping that the act of stating it will clarify and correct his own convictions and may aid some of his colleagues to do likewise. Even if statements provoke violent dissent, that in itself may be wholesome, for no one has a monopoly on truth and it is in part by friendly differences and discussion that we make progress.

First of all may we ask ourselves the question which we have so frequently put to our classes and to each other. What benefit do we believe can come from a knowledge of history? Of what use is all this labor to which we have given our lives and in which we are asking students to join for at least a fragment of theirs? Is history part of a traditional curriculum laid down for schools and colleges with no present-day reason for its existence except its universality or the fact that some of us find in its study entertainment, or has it real utility to the individual and the community? How can we justify ourselves to our own consciences, to our students, to our school committees and our boards of trustees?

One thinks immediately, of course, of the very evident need for history in the preparation for certain professions. The lawyer must have it, as must the journalist, the teacher of English, the preacher, and the diplomat. The usefulness of history in such callings is so obvious as to make comment unnecessary.

Another reason which quickly rises to the lips of many is that the study of the history of our own country promotes intelligent patriotism. To this I suspect most of us would gladly assent, especially if we are given permission to read our own meaning into the qualifying adjective. An enthusiastic loyalty to the best in the country, made

* Presidential address of the Ohio History Teachers' Association, delivered at the Joint Session, October 16, 1920.

critical by a knowledge of our weaknesses, our failures, and our problems, as well as of our hopes and achievements, is undoubtedly needed, and there is no other way of getting this than through history. The ambitions and ideals of the early colonists, so varied and yet subject to the common influences of frontier conditions, the mixed desires back of the separation from the mother country, the biographies of our great leaders, not only in the state, but in education, religion, and business, the many idealistic activities of our government, culminating for the present in the great adventure which led our men to France and whose outcome is still so uncertain, these, and a hundred other factors that have entered into our nation's life cannot fail, if studied fairly, to arouse an enthusiasm no less sincere because tempered with a knowledge of our failures, our weaknesses, and our unmet and complex problems. Such a patriotism must ever be an essential factor in the much-talked-of Americanization and this process of naturalization to the American atmosphere must be undertaken not only for the foreign-born and their children but for each rising generation of the older native stock.

Closely allied to this understanding of our own nation through its past must come that intelligent appreciation of other peoples which can be had only from a knowledge of their history. We cannot remind ourselves too frequently that we live in an age in which the affairs of any people may in a moment become the concern of all. Safe preparation for such a contingency must include for our leaders an intimate knowledge of the rest of the world and at least a general knowledge by the mass of the nation. We hear the complaint raised frequently that it is our ignorance of the historical background of the European mind which has made our participation in trans-Atlantic affairs so maladroit. That same charge may presently be made of our policy in the Far East. No adequate knowledge of either Europe or Asia can be had without an insight into their past, for their problems are nearly all shaped by the events and conditions of earlier centuries. Whatever may be the fate of the League of Nations we can never resume our isolation, and for the part which we are being forced to play in world affairs a knowledge of what in other days we termed "general history" is indispensable.

History is essential not only to an intelligent participation in national and international affairs, but to an understanding of all phases of the society in which we live. Who can interpret the many church spires which rise above an American town and the varying forms in which faith is expressed beneath them without at least a little knowledge of the personalities, the struggles and the hopes out of which they arose? Hebrew history, Greek philosophy, Roman organization, the Middle Ages, the Reformation, the American colonies and the Western frontier have all entered into them. The very schools and colleges in which we teach owe the forms of their organi-

zation and their curriculum to earlier generations and cannot be fully evaluated without an acquaintance with the past. The forms in which business is transacted, the granges in which our farming communities meet, the ideas which the soap-box orator expounds, all are products of other years and of conditions at least slightly different from those which we know today. As we can understand an individual only by knowing his ancestry, social and physical, and his early environment, so the human society in which we find ourselves remains unintelligible unless its past is known. It can be dealt with effectively best by those who know when and how it came to be.

A knowledge of history is, moreover, essential to a true perspective of current happenings. It helps us to hear what the centuries have to say against the years and prevents us from being too much carried away by the events of the moment. Any one who knew his history should not have been made too sanguine by the cry that we were in the late war to end war. Our acquaintance with the apocalyptic hopes which have arisen in the past in times of great distress as a kind of reaction of the unconquerable human spirit from the surrounding woe should have warned us that their mere appearance was no guarantee of their realization. Our knowledge of the failure of other great cataclysms to bring in the millennium should have made us extremely sceptical of any prophecies, no matter by what exalted personages, of the immediate coming of utopia. On the other hand, history should make us equally critical of those who gloomily protest against the effort to change human nature and who declare hopeless the attempt to banish war. We have known of the virtual disappearance of too many institutions and practices which had long been accepted as immutable, slavery and private warfare for example, to claim boldly that war cannot be abolished in time through the persistent efforts of idealists. Moreover, the perspective of history should prevent us from becoming despondent over the moral reaction and disillusionment of the past year or two. Our experience after our own Civil War and that of England under the restored Stuarts ought to prepare us for what we see about us, and to remind us that the period of depression can be shortened by the clear faith and determined efforts of any who will be unselfish and farseeing. The perspective of history, should, also, make us sceptics, even if friendly sceptics, toward many of the enthusiasms of the day. We have known of too many diplomatic revolutions, for example, to be carried away by the cry either of enduring national friendships or enmities. The bitter enemies of today become the sworn friends of the morrow and the changing demands of the moment make strange bedfellows. We may hope and work for enduring human brotherhood, as all true idealists must, but if we have read our history to good purpose we are neither unduly encouraged by sudden outbursts of friendship nor discouraged by spasms of interracial hatred. Perspective born

of a study of history makes many of us, moreover, hopeful for the progress of the race. Notice that I did not use the word "confident," for historical study makes us keenly aware of the fallibility of prophets. There are true and false prophets and it is often difficult to distinguish between the two, perhaps because so few are without occasional lapses into error. With the knowledge of the long period during which the race has been on the earth, however, and of the cumulative rapidity with which man has made himself master of his environment, have come at once an equanimity in the face of even serious reverses to civilization and a strong hope for the indefinitely long progress of the race both in the mastery of its surroundings and of its own baser nature.

The study of history, if properly conducted, develops the critical spirit. It teaches us to question statements and weigh evidence, whether these be in ancient documents or in current periodicals, newspapers, or public addresses. It demands authority for what has been said and carries over the scientific spirit of careful inquiry into the reports of current happenings and the assertions of statesmen. I am not at all sure but that to some of us historical study has brought the temptation to be overmuch critical. I do not mean that we should ever be credulous, but I do mean that we are in danger of becoming Gallios or armchair philosophers, so interested in sitting in the parquet and watching the show that we neglect to act. I fear that in few of our pupils, however, is there danger of the overdevelopment of the critical faculty. It is, when soundly trained, among the qualities most needed by a democracy, for it is to the stabilizing influence of kindly yet critical spirits, those who have learned to prove all things and hold fast that which is good, that we must trust to modify the blind assent of the masses to specious and voluble assertions.

The study of history has other values than the strictly utilitarian, great and important as these are. It brings with it, if rightly conducted, an enlargement of soul. It brings us into intimate contact with the noblest men and women of all ages, with their hopes, their failures, and their often strangely contradictory natures, half-clay and half-iron. It brings us, too, into touch with all sorts and conditions of men—peasants and nobles, artists and philistines, tyrants and demagogues, saints, and scoundrels, revolutionists and reactionaries, dauntless explorers and hardy pioneers. We become familiar with those who have created and destroyed states, with those around whom have grown up new systems of religious belief, and with creators of social and political dogmas. We watch the development of cultures and peoples and trace the long progress of the race from simple barbarism to the complex and contradictory civilization of today. All the sciences and the arts come within our ken. Ours should be the noble breadth of the geologist and the astronomer, the reverence of

saints, the vision of dreamers, and the daring of scientific investigators.

If such are the reasons for the study of history, its fruits when properly cultivated, the scope of historical study and teaching must be wider than is sometimes conceived. It is, of course, far greater than the catalogue of dates, battles and reigns which it so frequently was to our fathers. It includes also, of course, more than did Free-man's famous definition which made it past politics. It comprises all of importance that mankind has said or done. This definition most of us readily grant in theory but we are still far from being true to it in practice. Our history is still chiefly political, with enough of the religious, economic, intellectual and "social" added to explain political events. This is due perhaps in part because it is hard to break away from tradition, and in part because of the dearth of carefully worked over material in fields other than the political; the labors of earlier historians were chiefly here. We are changing, however, and the change must continue.

We need, moreover, to include in our history as taught more than those countries of which we usually treat. It is right that we should teach the history of the United States and of Europe and the Mediterranean basin. The one concerns us all immediately and the other has to do with the origins of our civilization and racial stock and the nations with which we have heretofore had our most important relations. With the broadening of our contacts which is so characteristic of today, however, it is important that we give attention to all the important peoples of the globe. In addition to our American, Ancient and European history courses, should we not have courses in all of our colleges and universities on our trans-Pacific neighbors, the peoples of China and Japan, and upon our associates in this hemisphere, the Latin American republics and the Dominion of Canada? It is a strange narrowness of vision, which one would think history itself should be quick to disown, that leaves not only the majority of our colleges but many of our universities without courses in the fields which I have just mentioned. Even our secondary schools should in some way manage to crowd into their curriculums attention to these nations. Perhaps this latter can be done in part through the introduction of electives and in part through a reintroduction and enlargement of our old general history courses.

For the need of such objects and such a scope for history teaching, no extended argument is necessary. More than at any other era the public opinion is shaping the policies and destinies of nations. What the people as a whole think determines in the long run what the government shall do. It is highly important then, that both those who help guide public opinion and the public itself shall have the proper historical background to our common problems. Can the professional teacher of history give this background with sufficient

force and influence to mold the course of events? The great mass of our people derive their information, or misinformation, as we all know, from other sources than the classroom. Many are influenced by the pulpit, others by public lectures—the much derided but extensively patronized Chautauquas for instance—and others by addresses, harangues, their next door neighbors, their parents, the labor union, and a few by books. Our greatest producer of public opinion, the daily and periodical press, reaches nearly all our people. Can the teacher hope to compete successfully with these multifarious agencies? The boy whom we have under our tuition for from three to five hours a week for a year already comes to us with convictions derived from his home, his church, his companions, or his labor union. The editor or headline writer of a metropolitan daily paper reaches more people in one issue than the university professor or the high school teacher can hope to touch directly in a life time. The facts and the outlook that we laboriously try to inculcate to fifty or sixty students are contradicted or subtly discounted by a score of other agencies. Why do we keep at our tasks? Some may think us foolish, but we have a conviction that as we teach today the nation will tend to think tomorrow. We have in our classrooms the preachers, the lecturers, the journalists, the labor leaders, and the scholars of the coming generation and they are with us in the most formative years of their lives. Ours may not be the only influence which molds them, but in the last analysis it is as potent as any, perhaps more so. Those statesmen are not far from right who in seeking to form the opinion of a nation insist on controlling its schools. "The teacher said so" still carries with it much of final authority, even when not publicly recognized.

If, then, the historical point of view and historical knowledge are indispensable to the well-being of our commonwealth and if the teacher of history is their most influential purveyor, it follows necessarily that a certain solemn sense of responsibility should be ours. We should insist, so far as possible, upon thorough preparation and full specialization for ourselves and our colleagues. The practice of entrusting the high school instruction in history to a callow college graduate who did not major in the subject and who teaches in addition a combination of French and Mathematics may be an unavoidable expedient, but it should rapidly become the rare exception. We should hold ourselves to carefulness of statement, to catholicity of mind, and should combine with judgment and balance an absolute fearlessness in facing facts and urging pupils to act on what they become convinced to be the truth. We should never feel that we have completed our own education, but should be at our task of self-discipline and preparation while life is given to us. We are the guardians of the experience of the race and the success of the race in working out its salvation depends in no small degree upon the faithfulness with which we fulfill our trust.

THE FUTURE OF THE OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION*

By WILBUR H. SIEBERT

Professor of European History, Ohio State University

A suggestion made by one of the members of the Executive Committee at last year's meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association serves to explain the subject I have chosen for my present remarks. That suggestion was that the Ohio Valley Historical Association should terminate forthwith, because it was having a struggling time of it and by passing out of existence it could strengthen the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which was not receiving the support to which it was entitled. As a member of the executive committee myself I did not wish to assist in extinguishing whatever life still remained in an organization which seemed to me to have a future before it, if a little effort were put forth to increase its membership, to publish the valuable papers presented at its sessions in an annual volume, and to map out a constructive program of future activities for the Association.

No one who knows anything of the fascinating history of the great valley after which our Association is named will deny that we have an ample field affording an abundance of materials for study and investigation. The Ohio River is a thousand miles long from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to the Mississippi River at Cairo, Illinois. The Ohio is nearly three times the length of the Hudson River, nearly six times the length of the Mohawk in central New York, and it is much more than half the length of the River St. Lawrence. Like the historic valleys of the rivers just named the Ohio Valley is rich in Indian lore. Before, during and for a few years after the Revolutionary War the Ohio was the dividing line between the white settlers on the west and south side of the river and the Indian tribes occupying the Ohio country. In 1829 Hugh Paul Taylor, a local antiquary of Covington, Kentucky, collected the personal narratives of the surviving pioneers and on the basis of these wrote a series of articles, which were printed in a local newspaper, telling the story of the primitive settlement and border wars of the valley from about 1740 to the end of the Revolution. Judge Edwin S. Duncan of what is now Barbour County, West Virginia, made a collection of materials for historical purposes soon after the publication of Mr. Taylor's articles but, like Noah Zane, of Wheeling, John Hacker of the Hacker's

* Presidential address of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, delivered at the Joint Session, October 16, 1920.

Creek settlement, and other local gleaners of such perishable but precious data, he never published anything. Fortunately, however, the notes made by these collectors were passed on to Alexander Scott Withers, a gentleman of classical and legal education living near Clarksburg in northwestern Virginia, who supplemented them with extensive collections of his own relating particularly to the first settlement and Indian wars of West Virginia. All of this material, together with the articles of Mr. Taylor, Mr. Withers utilized in the preparation of his well-known *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, or *A History of the Settlement by the Whites of Northwestern Virginia and of the Indian Wars and Massacres in that Section of the State*. This volume, which has been considered one of the best accounts of frontier life and Indian warfare, and has caused its author to be regarded as a public benefactor, was first published in 1831, had a local circulation, and we are told that "almost every copy was read by a country fireside until scarcely legible."

About seven years after the publication of Withers' *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, Lyman C. Draper, whose love for border history had been awakened by reading Withers and one or two other authors who depicted the life of the Western pioneers with realistic vigor, entered upon his great work of collecting the documents and traditions to fill in the outlines of early Western history from 1740 to 1816. By his long continued labors as a collector in his field Draper placed American historical students, especially those interested in the history of the Ohio Valley, everlastinglly in his debt. He had intended to make himself the biographer of the trans-Allegheny pioneers, but as a matter of fact he published but little. However, he accumulated a great mass of manuscripts and notes, which he left to the Wisconsin Historical Society. This wealth of precious material is deposited in that Society's splendid library building at Madison, Wisconsin, having been carefully classified and bound. It is from this Draper Manuscript Collection, as it is called, that the Wisconsin Historical Society published in May, 1905, a *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774*; in February, 1908, a collection of documents entitled *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*; in March, 1912, another collection called *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*; and five years later still another group of sources under the title *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781*. I venture to mention these publications because they ought to be better known to those who are interested in Ohio Valley history than they are, and because they are representative of a fund of material that will doubtless be freely drawn upon to continue the series beyond the period of the Revolutionary War and into the lower reaches of the Ohio Valley. It is unnecessary to say that these volumes are indispensable for the person who is occupied with a piece of investigation relating to the early history of the upper Ohio and that should

such an one go beyond the year 1781 he should betake himself at once to Madison, Wisconsin, in order to consult the unpublished sources there to be had. Now, it seems to me that one of the obvious services that the Ohio Valley Historical Association can and should render to the states bordering on the Ohio River is to co-operate with their state historical societies in securing the necessary legislative action in the form of appropriations for making transcripts of all the documents at Madison relating to the history of the Ohio Valley. As a citizen and taxpayer of the great State of Ohio I confess to a feeling of humiliation at the thought that my state does not possess certified copies of all the invaluable documents in the Draper Collection bearing in any way upon the history of Ohio. I believe that all the historical societies in the state and in the Ohio Valley would join in a movement to have those documents transcribed for the enrichment of the archives of our valley states, so that the historical investigator working in the period covered by the Draper collection need not have to travel farther than to his own state capital to obtain the material required.

In 1845 Mr. Draper went on a collecting trip to the Virginia Valley. This was but fourteen years after the appearance of Withers' *Chronicles*, and therefore not too late for Dr. Draper to identify many of the sources of the information used in that work. Indeed, Dr. Draper gathered at that time a considerable amount of supplementary material that threw new light upon some of the events narrated by Withers. It was not, however, until forty-five years later that Dr. Draper was engaged by the Robert Clarke Company of Cincinnati as the highest authority on Western border history to prepare and annotate a new edition of Withers' *Chronicles*, which had long been out of print. At the time of Mr. Draper's death, August 26, 1891, he had prepared the notes for not more than one-fourth of the book. About three years later the publishers asked Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, the secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society and the editor of a number of its volumes drawn from the Draper collection, to finish the task. The revised edition was ready in February, 1895, and by 1917, had passed through its sixth reprinting. The numerous notes supplied by the editors, Draper and Thwaites, serve to amplify and explain many of the episodes treated by Withers and are, of course, based on materials accessible only in the Draper collection. Withers' *Chronicles* end with the signing of the treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795.

Besides endeavoring to have copies made of these manuscripts in the great Draper collection that relate to Ohio Valley history, the Ohio Valley Association should, I think, consider the propriety of compiling a bibliography of the printed works dealing with its field. Such a bibliography would be of great value to investigators and would acquaint our members with the great volume of excellent work

that has been done in some of the valley states during recent years in the way of society publications, state archives, monographs, biographies, local histories, general works, etc., and it would supply needed information in regard to the character, scope, and location of rare old books of travel as well as diaries and personal narratives now unknown to most of us. Only this week I had the pleasure of looking through two volumes of which I have often seen mention but on which I have never been able to lay my hands until now. The author was James Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, the friend and fellow conspirator in early revolutionary days of Dr. John Connolly of Pittsburgh, with whom he managed to get into all kinds of trouble while in the employ of Lord Dunmore and the British. After being thwarted at every turn, except during his service as a captain of the Queen's Rangers with Lord Howe at Philadelphia, Smyth finally turned up in London, where in 1784 he published his *Tour in the United States of America*.

His two volumes contain 850 pages, in the course of which he has much to say about "the famed Settlement of Kentucky," his visit to Lord Dunmore at Norfolk, Virginia, where he met Connolly with whom he set out on a journey to the back country in order to arrange an expedition for the capture of Pittsburgh. Needless to say, he narrates his subsequent trials, tribulations, escapes, and other experiences in considerable detail. These volumes also contain many interesting observations concerning the classes of people in the region south of the Ohio River, life on the plantations, the populations of the various states and the fighting strength of many Indian tribes. Smyth's *Tour* is a rare book and contains information of value pertaining to the Ohio Valley.

I might mention numerous examples of recent publications in the nature of state reports, historical society proceedings, monographs, and local histories. I shall content myself with a very few titles. Mr. George T. Fleming of *The Pittsburgh Gazette Times* is now at work on a four-volume history of Pittsburgh. Professor Osman C. Hooper of the Ohio State University has recently completed a new history of the city of Columbus, which is about to issue from the press. The Ohio State University has just published the first of two volumes which together will cover the history of the institution during the half-century of its existence. All phases of the University's record in the World War will be treated in the second volume. A third volume will comprise the addresses delivered during the semi-centennial celebration, as well as an account of other features of the anniversary. Among monographs and special works are *The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio, 1803-1850* (1916), by Professor Edward A. Miller of Oberlin College, *Old Miami, the Yale of the Early West* (1909) by Professor Alfred H. Upham of Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, and *The Ohio Country Between the Years 1783*

and 1815 (1910) by Dr. Charles E. Slocum of Toledo, Ohio. These are serious pieces of work, and in such a bibliography as I have in mind would be briefly characterized by competent critics. Of historical society publications one of the best series I know that comes within range of our present discussion is the *Filson Club Publications*, published at Louisville, Kentucky, and containing both well prepared papers and carefully selected documents relating to Kentucky. This series is a store-house of valuable information, and in the quality of its contents as well as in its exterior form sets a standard worthy of emulation by most other historical societies in the Ohio Valley. The state of West Virginia maintains a Department of Archives and History at Charleston, at the head of which is Mr. Clifford R. Myers, who issues a biennial report. Some of the other valley states would do well to create and conduct similar departments.

Not only was the Ohio River a dividing line between the whites and the Indians until a dozen years after the Revolution, it was also to become a part of the great boundary between the slave and the free states from the time of the Ordinance of 1787 down to the Civil War. This fact determines the limits of another important period in the history of the Ohio Valley, the period during which the student may trace the part played by the Quakers, Scotch Covenanters, and the Wesleyan Methodists in their struggle to rid the land of human bondage. The growth of the anti-slavery sentiment in the valley is worthy of a great deal more study than it has ever received. In this connection somebody ought to examine the remarkable collection of anti-slavery newspapers and other related material in the Library at Oberlin College, for the light they would shed on this still unexplored topic. If one is not attracted by Indian wars and the western phase of the Revolution or by the growth of the anti-slavery and abolition movements, there still remain many themes connected with the material, educational, and religious developments in the valley, not to speak of its share in the World War.

Apart from the tasks that members of our Association may choose to undertake in the field of research, the future of our organization is bound up with the securing of a largely increased membership and a more substantial financial support that it has thus far enjoyed. Without formal authorization I have tried an experiment, for which I must assume responsibility, not, however, without mentioning the matter in advance to those members of the executive committee who were in attendance at the meeting of the Association last fall in Berea. This experiment consisted in sending out a form naming several grades of membership with dues ranging from \$2.00 to \$100.00 together with a letter of invitation to several hundred persons in different communities to join the Association in one or another of the grades and send their dues. The result of this canvass, which was not as well conducted as it might have been, is shown in the addition

of fourteen new members, of whom one is a college member, nine are associate members, three are contributing members, and one is a life member, the total sum of the dues received being \$222.00. Among our new members are former Governor James E. Campbell, president of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society; President W. O. Thompson and Professor Osman C. Hooper of the Ohio State University; Dr. Charles F. Kettering of Dayton, one of the trustees of the State University, who is our first life member, and Colonel E. A. Deeds, also of Dayton, who is a trustee of Denison University. Of the remaining nine new members six are well known citizens of Columbus, two of Chillicothe, and one, Mr. James H. Collard, is an instructor in History at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware. Personally I feel that the experiment has justified itself, and I recommend that the officers of the Ohio Valley Association be instructed to continue the effort to secure new members of the several grades, not forgetting the History teachers of the colleges and universities and the local historians of the valley.

I wish to suggest only one other project which is, I believe, essential to the permanent success of our Association, and that is provision for the annual publication of our proceedings, including all historical papers that may be worthy of preservation. It has occurred to me that perhaps the Ohio State University might agree to do this for us, although I have not yet had an opportunity of proposing the matter to the University authorities. It is probable that acceptable papers relating to Ohio history could be published through the medium of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly and other papers in the historical publications of other valley states; but such a plan would, I am sure, prove unsatisfactory to our membership. If we are to preserve our identity as an historical society, we need an annual volume containing the record of our proceedings and the list of our members. Such a publication is too expensive for the society to undertake in view of the present high cost of paper and printing. We must, therefore, find an institution that has the means, the inclination, and the authority to issue our proceedings for us. In view of the fact that the press of the Ohio State University is already publishing the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* without expense to the State History Teachers' Association, it has occurred to me that, unless some one has something better to propose, it would be well for the Ohio Valley Historical Association to instruct its officers to approach the authorities of the State University in the near future with a similar proposition.

May I add one other suggestion, namely, that whatever efforts the officers of our Association may make under the directions of the society, the future of our organization will depend upon the zeal manifested by our members in carrying forward the work of investigation in their chosen field of study and in encouraging such of their

friends and acquaintance as may be interested in Ohio Valley history to join our Association. A large list of associate, contributing, and life members will greatly improve the condition of our treasury. A goodly list of collegiate members and local historians will supply those who are competent to prepare valuable papers for our programs. These two lists of members will assure the future of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.

TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, January 15, 1920	\$ 73.54
Dues, January 15-October 10	65.00

\$138.54

EXPENDITURES

January 1, 1920—Bratton Circular Letter Company (Membership Campaign)	\$ 37.87
October 6, 1920—Postage and Clerical Service	8.50

\$ 46.37

Balance on hand, October 10, 1920

\$ 92.17

\$138.54

Signed:

CARL WITTKE, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

ADEQUATE PAY FOR TEACHERS*

By P. P. CLAXTON

Read Before the National Education Association (Abridged)

Teachers worthy of places in the schools in which American children are prepared for life, for making a living, for the duties and responsibilities of democratic citizenship, and for eternal destiny can never be fully paid in money. Men and women worthy of this highest of all callings will not think first of pay in money or in any other form. For teachers, as for all other workers, Ruskin's saying holds: "If they think first of pay and only second of work, they are servants of him who is the lord of pay, the most un erect fiend that fell. If they think first of their work and its results and only second of their pay, however important that may be, then they are servants of Him who is the Lord of work. Then they belong to the great guild of workers and builders and saviors of the world together with Him for whom to do the will of Him that sent Him and finish His work was both meat and drink."

WORKERS PAID LARGE LY IN KIND

It has ever been and probably must always be that workers of whatever sort received the largest part of their pay in kind, as millers take toll of the grist they grind. Those that work with material things that have easily measured cash values receive their pay chiefly in money or in things whose values are most easily measured in money. Other rewards will be less in proportion and in importance. Those who work largely for other than the material results that can be measured by money must continue to be content to receive a large part of their pay in the consciousness of work well done for a worthy cause, and in participation, by faith at least, in the results, both near and far away in time and in space.

THE TEACHERS' SPIRITUAL REWARDS

Teachers who do their work well and who, either in fact or by faith, see the world made better as a result; individuals made healthier, wiser, happier; sin and suffering made less; the common wealth made more; social purity and civic righteousness increased; public laws made more just; patriotism broadened and purified; state and nation made stronger and safer against attack from without and decay

* This article was sent out by the Bureau of Education, Washington; the Editorial Board believed that it was of sufficient interest to the readers of the JOURNAL to justify its publication here.

from within; and the world lifted on to a higher plane and into a brighter sunshine and a purer atmosphere, are possessed of wealth unseen and for most unseeable.

All true teachers will think on these things and many of the best will be attracted to and held in the profession by them. It will be all the worse for the profession and the world when it is not so.

But this should not be made an excuse for putting public or private education on a charity basis, nor for paying teachers the miserably low wages they are now paid. It should not be made an excuse for paying such wages as will not permit school boards and superintendents to fix reasonable minimum standards of qualifications for teachers because young men and women who expect to teach cannot afford to incur the expenses necessary to prepare themselves to meet the requirements of such standards. It should not be made an excuse for failing to increase the pay of teachers as the pay in other professions is increased in recognition of proved merit and in proportion to increasing ability gained through experience, continued study, and constant devotion to duty.

IMPROVED SALARIES BENEFIT THE SCHOOLS AND THE NATION

Not for the sake of the teachers primarily, but that the schools may be made fully efficient; that children may be well taught; that the material wealth of state and nation may be increased so that we may have the means of paying our debts, building our highways, caring for our unfortunates, and meeting other public expenses and at the same time have enough for all the people to live in comfort; that our democracy may be preserved, purified, and made more effective; that scientific discovery, useful invention, and artistic expression may be promoted; that we may act well our part in the commonwealth of the world, we must pay such salaries as will bring into the schools as teachers men and women of the best native ability, men and women strong and well organized physically, mentally, and spiritually; men and women of the finest culture and the most thorough and comprehensive education, academic and professional, and so adjust their salaries as to enable them to hold all those who show themselves most capable and best fitted for the work. In this most important of all our enterprises we cannot afford to pay less.

MANY ABLE MEN HAVE TAUGHT

Our traditional policy of paying to young and inexperienced men and women with little or no question as to their professional preparation salaries almost as large as we pay to those who have had many years of successful experience had at least one merit. It brought into the schools large numbers of young men and women of unusual native ability and of strong character and sometimes such men and women having also good scholarship and fine culture, willing and eager to do the best they could while saving from their comparatively

good wages money to start them in business or home making, or to enable them to prepare themselves for those professions for which adequate preparation is required and demanded. Many of the ablest men and women in all walks of life have been school teachers. A good-sized *ex-teachers' association* could be formed of members of any recent Congress of the United States. We have just nominated two *ex-teachers* as candidates for the Presidency. Unfortunately, however, most of these have remained as teachers in the schools only until they had begun to gain some little comprehension of their task and some little skill in executing it. But despite their lack of preparation and experience it was good for boys and girls to come in contact with them. From this contact many gained inspiration and purpose.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS PAY BETTER

The time has now come when men and women of unusual native ability and strength of character can make more money in any of hundreds of occupations than they can in teaching. A few of them will teach while waiting to find themselves, or to make money for a start in business, or for paying for preparation for other work. They will accept employment which is at the same time more attractive and more remunerative. From now on schools will be taught (1) by unprepared and inexperienced young men and women of mediocre ability and less, while waiting for the maturity which is required for employment in the minor and more common occupations; (2) by the left overs of such men and women who have failed to find more attractive and remunerative employment elsewhere, but have not wholly failed as teachers; or (3) by men and women of better native ability, stronger character, more thorough education, and the professional preparation which will enable them to succeed to such an extent that they may be induced by the payment of adequate wages to continue to serve their country in a high and valuable way as teachers.

THIS IS THE REAL CRISIS IN EDUCATION

We have come to the parting of the ways. Which shall we accept? Makeshift teachers of the first two classes we may continue to get in sufficient numbers by paying salaries relatively as large as those paid in 1914. To have the same relative value and purchasing power as salaries paid in 1913-14, the present salaries and salaries for some years to come must be approximately twice as large as they were then.

WE MUST HAVE STRONG TEACHERS

For teachers of the third class—and we should be satisfied with no other—we must pay salaries larger relatively than we have paid at any time in the past, and must adopt a policy which will give such recognition to teachers of unusual ability as will hold them in the service of the schools against the temptation of better pay elsewhere. Temporary increase in pay of teachers will not be sufficient. There

must be such guaranty of good wages in the years to come as will induce young men and women of such native ability and character as good teachers can be made of to accept teaching as a profession and take the time and spend the money necessary to prepare themselves for it. The demand for professional preparation and continued service, coupled with inadequate pay, can only result in supplying the schools with teachers of small caliber, unfit to become the inspirers and guides and educators of those who are to make up the citizenry of the great democratic Republic, solve the problems, and do the work of the new era. Such teachers are not fit seed corn for the new harvest to which we should and do look forward.

For such teachers as we would have in our schools what may be considered adequate pay? The answer is very easy and short. Such pay as may be necessary to get and keep them. In a conference of leaders of national, civic, and patriotic societies which met recently at my request in Washington it was agreed that to be considered adequate the wages of teachers should be as much as men and women of equal native ability, education, special preparation, and experience receive for other work requiring as much time, energy, and devotion, and involving approximately as much responsibility.

Just how much this will mean in dollars and cents in any community I do not know. To determine the amount in any state, city, or country district will require a careful and comprehensive study. But it can quite easily be arrived at approximately, at least, for the country at large.

AVERAGE SALARY SHOULD BE \$2,000.00

The average wealth production of the adult worker of the United States is not far from \$1,250 a year—probably somewhat more. The average for men and women of ability, preparation, and industry of such teachers as we are talking about cannot be less than \$2,000; it is probably nearer three or four or five thousand dollars. But in view of the fact that teaching is by its very nature an altruistic calling, and also because it may reasonably be supposed that the purchasing power of the dollar will increase considerably within the next few years and the cost of living as measured in dollars relatively decrease, let us agree on \$2,000 as an average salary for teachers in the elementary and secondary schools of the United States. This is three times as much as the average for the year 1917-18 and more than 150 percent above the average for the year 1919-20.

If the pay to beginners is so fixed that the average for all teachers in the first year in urban and rural elementary schools and high schools is \$1,200, this will allow other salaries of \$2,500, \$3,000, \$3,500, and \$4,000. Salaries of \$5,000 or more may be held out as rare prizes for those who have gained experience and have proven their worth and who are willing and able to pay the price of such

great and fine service as is recognized by unusual rewards in other professions.

THE MONEY CAN BE RAISED

Can we pay such salaries? With such proper and useful economies, as may be easily brought about, including consolidation of small rural schools and the adoption of a well-arranged work-study-play plan in the city schools the total number of teachers in the public elementary and secondary schools of the United States need not exceed 750,000 within the next five or ten years. At an average of \$2,000 it will take a billion and a half dollars to pay 75,000 teachers. Increase this by 50 percent—a liberal amount—to pay for administration, supervision, buildings, equipment, and supplies, and we have a total of two and a quarter billions—a quarter of a billion short of Spaulding's two and a half billions and only \$140,000,000 more than the amount the Department of Labor reports that we paid last year for tobacco in its various forms. Our part in the World War, in which we fought for freedom and democracy, cost us not less than fifty billions of dollars all told. At 5 percent the annual interest on this amount is two and a half billion dollars. Without education there can be neither freedom nor democracy. Unless we educate all the people in such way as to enable them to possess these in fullest measure we shall have spent our money for naught and the men who sleep in France and Belgium shall have died in vain.

Can we pay our debt and pay in like proportion for education? The answer is we cannot well do the one without the other. Our power to produce and to pay will and must depend on the health, knowledge, skill, purpose, and will of the people; that is, on their education.

How much can we afford to pay for education? Since education is a factor which cannot be eliminated from the wealth-producing power of the people and since all wealth depends on education, we can as a people afford to increase our appropriations for education until the increase in cost becomes greater than the increase in the productive power which comes through education. No people have ever yet found the limit.

Will the people pay? The wealth is theirs, the children are theirs, the schools are their agents, owned and supported by them for the education of their children and for the attainment of all that this means and can be made to mean for their own happiness, for the individual welfare of their children, for the production of material wealth, for the individual and common good, for the public welfare, for civic righteousness and social purity, for strength and safety of state and nation, and for all that patriotism means and all that supports life and makes life worth living. I have faith to believe that when the people are made to understand this they will respond. They have never failed. They will not fail now.

The Ohio History Teachers' Journal

*Issued in January, March,
May, and November*

BULLETIN NO. 20
JANUARY, 1921



OUTLINE OF HISTORY COURSE
FOR THE NINTH GRADE

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY AT COLUMBUS

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JANUARY, 1921

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SOME PHASES OF HISTORY TEACHING IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF CLEVELAND

By S. H. ZIEGLER
Director of History and Civics, Cleveland

INTRODUCTION

In looking over the History work of the Cleveland High Schools to find matter that might be of interest to the members of the Association, several features presented themselves as worthy of your consideration.

I. THE COURSE OF STUDY

Our course of study is based upon, but does not exactly conform with, the report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Educational Association. This report was published as Bulletin 1916, No. 28, of the Bureau of Education. Several reasons have guided us in making the modifications. The High School program should articulate with that of the elementary schools. The elementary schools of Cleveland have arranged their work pretty closely along the lines laid down in the Report of the Committee of Eight, published in 1910. The Committee of Eight recommends European Backgrounds as the subject for the sixth year. The Committee on Social Studies recommends it for the seventh year. The latter committee divides the history time with Geography in the Junior High School grades. We have reserved, in the seventh and eighth grades, the entire time of one period a day for History, Civics, and Current Events. In a few of the schools Hygiene has been placed in this time also. But Geography has been allotted a separate period. Our Cleveland time allotment for the Social Studies is, therefore, very much more liberal. Below is a comparison, in parallel columns, of the course recommended by the Committee on Social Studies, and the course as carried out in Cleveland:

Seventh Year

<i>Committee on Social Studies</i>	<i>Cleveland</i>
Geography $\frac{1}{2}$, European History $\frac{1}{2}$, or European History 1, Geography incident.	American History 1 year.
Civics, 1 or 2 periods a week.	Civics, 1 period a week.
	Current Events, 1 period a week.

Eighth Year

American History, $\frac{1}{2}$ year.	American History, 1 year.
Civics, $\frac{1}{2}$ year.	Civics, 1 period a week.
	Current Events, 1 period a week.

Ninth Year

Civics, $\frac{1}{2}$ year.	Still in the experimental stage;
Economics and Vocations, $\frac{1}{2}$ year.	discussion later.

Tenth Year

European History to 1700.	European History to 1700.
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Eleventh Year

European History since 1700.	European History since 1700.
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Twelfth Year

Problems of American Democracy, 1 or $\frac{1}{2}$ year.	American History, $\frac{1}{2}$ year. Civics, $\frac{1}{2}$ year, or Economics, $\frac{1}{2}$ year.
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The first thing that would occur to the person examining these two courses in parallel columns is the fact that the Cleveland course gives more time to the social studies as a whole, and far more time to American History. In determining the time and the selection of the material, several factors must be considered:

1. It must be kept in mind that ours is a public school system, and that the needs of good citizenship have an important claim to our attention. It would be possible, no doubt, to formulate an ideal course for an ideal student, but we are limited. Our pupils must obtain in school an appreciation for the underlying elements of our political system in order that they may sanely judge when confronted with those problems that every citizen in a democracy is called upon to decide.

2. The population of Cleveland has a very large foreign element. Approximately seventy per cent of the people of the city are either foreign-born or of foreign parentage. Social studies are more important to any urban population than to a rural one, but they are especially important in Cleveland. History and Civics must be emphasized strongly in any attempt to Americanize these large foreign groups. They have an alien tradition and point of view. We want them to have the American angle.

We will now consider the idea for the ninth year which is being worked out in our city. We are as yet only in the experimental stage with this plan, trying out the work in a few schools, rewriting and revising as we go along.

Doctor Spaulding, who, up to this fall, was superintendent, spent a year with the American Expeditionary Forces, organizing the Y. M. C. A. schools in France. He became much interested in securing a wider attention to world problems on the part of the average Ameri-

can citizen. Upon his return to Cleveland he designated a committee of the Heads of the History Departments in the various High Schools of the city, which committee, working in conjunction with Doctor Henry Bourne, of Western Reserve University, prepared the material for the proposed course. The first draft of the material, used in seven schools last spring, proved defective in organization and content. The field was not adequately covered, some phases were introduced which had little to do with carrying out the purposes of the course, and the Committee had scarcely the time to correct all these defects at the time. Last summer, in the Summer Session of the Cleveland School of Education, a group which included several of the members of the Committee, attacked the problem under the leadership of Doctor Melvin, of the University of Kansas. Briefly, the idea is this:

The young men and women now in our schools are coming into the arena of the world's history at a time when democracy and democratic institutions are exposed to great peril from several directions. International relations are closer and responsibilities are greater today than ever before. Is it possible to have a democracy universal in extent, and educated to the point at which the international situation may be controlled and directed toward permanent peace? Are the schools making a consistent effort to train such a democracy? Have we not too intensively trained in "Americanism" to the neglect of training in neighborliness? Can a course be organized that will lead our pupils to an appreciation of other nations' problems and difficulties, so that the savage instinct to fight may be replaced by a desire to help?

The line along which we attempted to build up a solution to these questions was this:

Two weeks' introductory work which is to consist of a brief discussion of such facts, derived from Current Events, the racial makeup of the school, or any other convenient source, as would make vivid and vital the idea that there *was* such a problem. Following this the discussions would center around the world map, bringing to the attention of the pupils the various lines of antagonism and friendship which they, from their recent reading, or from their study of American History, may have noticed. A brief summary of America's position in the world closes the introduction.

The main part of the work consists in studying, in a few lessons each, the various nations of the world according to a type outline. Each nation is considered from three angles:

- A. Its geographical features, physical, economic, and cultural.
- B. Its history, with especial attention to any distinctive contribution to world civilization.
- C. Its relation with the United States in the past and present, with such a glimpse of the future as may be suggested by present conditions.

After studying about fourteen nations in this way, we come back to the United States and survey it as a world power, considering briefly our diplomatic and economic responsibilities in view of the conditions just studied.

(An outline of the proposed course follows this paper.)

It will be seen that, including the work of the elementary school, the entire social studies program forms three cycles. This ninth-year course is designed to form the capstone course of the second cycle. Besides the aims of the course previously enumerated, these aims are kept in mind in suggesting and organizing the work.

1. To gather together, review, and interpret the studies of the cycle which it completes. It will be remembered that United States History, Geography, and Civics were the Junior High School Social studies. This course reviews many facts of United States History from a new point of view, the point of view of the world-citizen. It attempts to add significance to the geography already studied, and to arouse even to a greater degree the feeling of responsibility for the welfare of humanity than was designed by the preceding civics courses.

2. To suggest and arouse interest in the work of the following cycle. To use the language of the street, we must "sell" the proposition of future history work to the pupil. With the Senior High School cycle we are confronted with the problem of electives. The tenth-year and eleventh-year European History will have an added meaning to the pupil who has gone over the work suggested in the ninth year.

This outline and the work based upon it is now in use in two of the High Schools of the city. The material to be studied is prepared by the committee, mimeographed, and placed in the hands of the pupil. It is planned to spend one period a day for one semester on the outline. The allotment of time for each topic is suggested in the outline itself, and the amount of material prepared for each topic is such that the pupil should be able to cover the assignment in the time suggested.

THE COURSE IN HISTORY FOR THE NINTH YEAR

This course is planned as the "capstone course" for the second or Junior High School cycle of the Social Studies part of the school work. A good "capstone course" should:

A. Gather together, review, and interpret the studies of the cycle which it completes. In this particular course the history of the United States is taken up. The ninth-year course should therefore try to place the United States in its proper relations to the other powers of the world in the mind of the pupil. Since Geography is also studied in the Junior High School, a brief review of such geography as may be necessary for the proper interpretation of the work is also suggested in the outline.

B. Suggest and arouse interest in the work of the following cycle. The Senior High School cycle of the Social Studies undertakes to present world history, both ancient and modern. The work of the "capstone course" as outlined below will, it is hoped, arouse interest and curiosity in the pupil for the work of History in the Senior High School.

C. In addition to possessing the above-named characteristics, the work must make a real contribution to the social needs of the pupil as a citizen. Since the Spanish War, and more especially as a result of the World War, the United States is taking its place as a World Power. Such a place can only be taken if the citizens of the United States have some idea of the world as a whole, and of the political, economic, social, and diplomatic questions of the various nations in their relations to each other. Based upon the above theses, the following outline is suggested for the course:

GENERAL SCHEME OF THE SECOND OR JUNIOR HIGH
SCHOOL "CAPSTONE COURSE"

AMERICA AND THE WORLD

PART ONE. INTRODUCTION. 10 PERIODS

- A. Why such a course?
- B. Work with Maps and Chart.
- C. America's Position Today.

PART TWO. AMERICA AND THE WORLD POWERS. 70 PERIODS

- A. The British Isles. 12 periods.
- B. British Dominions and Colonies. 5 periods.
- C. France. 5 periods.
- D. Italy. 4 periods.
- E. Central European Powers. 5 periods.
- F. Spain. 4 periods.
- G. Mexico. 4 periods.
- H. South America. 6 periods.
- I. The Caribbean. 5 periods.
- J. Panama Canal. 4 periods.
- K. Russia-North Slavs. 4 periods.
- L. South Slavs-Near East. 4 periods.
- M. China. 4 periods.
- N. Japan. 4 periods.

PART THREE. THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE. 10 PERIODS

- A. The responsibilities of America as a nation.
- B. The duty of citizens as part of the World.

The work is designed to cover the 90 classroom periods of one semester's work. The list of nations in Part Two has been so arranged

as to leave the pressing problems of the present day for discussion last, and to place those nations which had to do with the early days of the republic first. In the following sheets the various topics listed above will be further analyzed. A bibliography for teachers and pupils will be found also.

PART ONE. INTRODUCTION. 10 PERIODS

A. *Why Such a Course*

- I. Class discussion of some of the leading current events showing the need for this work.
- II. The national ancestry of the pupils of the class.
 1. Reasons why their ancestors came to America.
 2. Review reasons for the coming of the early settlers.
- III. Factors and forces in present-day world politics.

B. *Work With Map and Chart*

- I. The map of the United States worked over to show:
 1. European contacts of the early days.
 2. European and world contacts of today.
- II. World map worked over to show:
 1. Bonds of amity between United States and world powers.
 2. Lines of antagonism between United States and the other powers.
- III. Chart or diagram worked up to show:
 1. Various bonds of friendship among the world powers.
 2. Various lines of antagonism among the world powers.

C. *America's Position Today*

- I. Review changes of policy.
- II. Question of national prejudices, past and present.
- III. America's debts to the other powers.
- IV. The problems of the present day:
 1. Our responsibilities (Philippines, etc.)
 2. Our dangers (what and where and why?)
 3. Our opportunities.

PART TWO. AMERICA AND THE WORLD POWERS. 70 PERIODS

A. *The British Isles. 12 Periods*

- I. Geographic factors.
 1. Physical—surface, soil, climate, insularity.
 2. Economic—Vegetable and mineral resources, industries.
 3. Cultural—Peoples, languages.
- II. History.
 1. The consolidation of England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland.
 - a. Wales—Edward I. Great Americans of Welsh Descent.
 - b. England—Early Britons, Saxons, Normans, Danes.
 - c. Scotland—Bruce, the Stuarts, Great Americans.
 - d. Ireland—Question of Ulster. English failure.

2. The rise of democracy in England.
 - a. The Magna Charta.
 - b. The revolts of the Peasants.
 - c. The Stuarts—Parliament and Commonwealth.
 - d. Rise of Parliamentary Government. The Reforms.
3. The expansion of the British Empire.
4. Men and incidents illustrative of progress.

III. Relations with the United States.

1. The colonies and the prerevolutionary period (review).
2. The Revolution:
 - a. Causes. Review from Declaration of Independence.
 - b. The treaty of peace.
3. Commercial disputes. The War of 1812.
 - a. England's refusal to recognize our national rights.
 - b. The questions of neutrality.
 - c. Compare with the German aggressions, 1914-1917.
4. Boundary disputes.
 - a. Louisiana Purchase; b, Maine; c, Oregon; d, Alaska.
5. The growth of arbitration.
 - a. Injuries. Alabama claims.
 - b. Matters of argument—Newfoundland and Alaska seal fisheries.
6. Relations and problems.
 - a. The reasons for amity and good feeling.
 - b. The Irish as a disturbing factor—what our attitude should be.
 - c. Possibilities of greater degree of unity of action.

B. British Dominions and Colonies. 5 Periods

I. Geography.

1. Study location on map and review acquisition—reasons for each acquisition.
2. Physical features—Soil, climate, surface, etc.
3. Economic features—Productions, relation to British trade.
4. Cultural—Peoples, degree of civilization.

II. History.

1. Canada.
 - a. Original settlement by French.
 - b. Steps in acquisition by England.
 - i. The Hudson Bay Company.
 - ii. The colonial wars.
 - iii. The French and Indian War.
 - c. Canada in the American Revolution.
 - d. Canada in the War of 1812.

- e. Canada becomes self-governing.
 - i. The revolt.
 - ii. Lord Durham's report.
 - iii. The organization of the Dominion—its government.
 - iv. Relations with United States—the new minister.
 2. Australia.
 - a. Discoveries of early days. Captain Cook's voyage.
 - b. The penal settlement.
 - c. The discovery of gold—Sheep raising.
 - d. The creation of the Commonwealth.
 3. New Zealand and Newfoundland.
 4. South Africa.
 - a. The settlement by the Boers (Dutch farmers).
 - b. The troubles and the South African War.
 - c. The organization of the Dominion—treatment of the Dutch farmers after the war.
 - d. Gold and diamonds—Cecil Rhodes—the scholarships.
 5. Other dominions of England—India, Egypt, and others.
- III. Relations of the dependencies with the United States.
1. The elements in Canada making annexation improbable.
 - a. The descendants of the Tories in Ontario.
 - b. The French-Canadians in Quebec.
 2. The dependencies and the Oriental problem.
 - a. Australia, New Zealand, and the Japanese.
 - b. Canada and the Japanese.
 - c. Probable lineup of votes in the League of Nations on some of the questions that perplex the United States.
 3. South Africa, Cecil Rhodes and the Scholarships.
 4. The question of exchanging British West Indies for part payment of the loans during the war.
 5. Relations of the future.
 - a. The policy of having separate ministers in Washington.
 - b. Possible trade relations.

C. France. 5 Periods

I. Geography.

1. Physical—Surface, soil, location, climate.
2. Economic—Productions and industries. Commerce.
3. Cultural—People, language.

II. History.

1. Ancient times.
 - a. The ancient Gauls.
 - b. The Roman conquest—its effects.
 - c. The coming of the Franks—the setting up of their rule.

2. The establishment of the Kingdom of France.
 - a. Early disunion—the power of the nobles.
 - b. The lessons of the First Hundred Years War.
 - c. The establishment of the absolute monarchy.
3. The Revolution.
 - a. The causes—show American influence.
 - b. The results of the Revolution.
 - c. The French and the English-American methods compared.
4. The governments of the XIX Century.
 - a. First Empire; b, Restoration; c, Louis Philippe; d, Second Republic; e, Second Empire; f, Third Republic.
5. The colonial expansion of France.
 - a. Note the loss of the early colonial empire.
 - b. Trace the origins of the modern colonial system in Africa, Asia.
6. The government of France—Compare with United States.

III. Relations with the United States.

1. Loss of Canada by French made possible the Revolutionary War of the United States—show this.
2. France in the Revolution.
 - a. The coming of Lafayette.
 - b. Motives of the French ministry in giving aid.
 - c. The results of their aid.
3. The period of Napoleon and the first republic.
 - a. The X-Y-Z papers—preparations for war.
 - b. The purchase of Louisiana.
 - c. The Berlin and Milan Decrees—Trade with the French West Indies.
4. Jackson and the Spoliation Claims.
5. Napoleon III and the Civil War.
 - a. Sympathy with the South.
 - b. The attempt in Mexico.
 - c. United States upholds the Monroe Doctrine.
6. French-American relations in the World War.
7. The future.
 - a. No territorial rivalries in sight.
 - b. The War Loans of the United States.
 - c. Probabilities of the League of Nations and France.

D. Italy. 4 Periods

I. Geography.

1. Physical—Location, soil, surface, climate.
2. Economic—Productions, commerce, and industry.
3. Cultural—People and language.

II. History.

1. The Roman Empire.
 - a. The early Republic.
 - b. The rise of legal systems.
 - c. The downfall—reasons which we should study.
2. Mediæval Italy.
 - a. Disunion and the reasons of its study.
 - b. The rise of commerce—the navigators.
 - i. Venice and the Venetian state.
 - ii. Genoa—the trade of these states with the East.
 - c. The Renaissance.
3. Italy in modern times.
 - a. The unification of Italy.
 - i. Cavour, Garibaldi, Mazzini, Victor Emmanuel.
 - ii. The question of the Papal States.
 - iii. Italia Irredenta.

III. Relations with the United States.

1. Immigration and the Italian part of our population.
2. America and Italia Irredenta—Fiume and the Dalmatian Coast.
3. American Catholics and the Papal Domain.
4. The future.
 - a. Trade and finance.
 - b. American tourists and the balance of trade.

E. Germany and Other Central European Powers. 5 Periods**I. Geography.**

1. Physical—Location, soil, surface, climate.
2. Economic—Productions, trade, and commerce.
3. Cultural—Peoples, languages, and customs.

II. History.

1. Primitive village and tribal government.
 - a. Its development in England and America.
 - b. Central Europe accepts Roman law.
2. The Holy Roman Empire.
 - a. Charlemagne, Barbarossa.
 - b. The empire of Charles V.
 - c. The reformation—Martin Luther.
 - d. Religious wars and disunion. Break-up of the Empire.
3. The XIX Century.
 - a. The contest between Austria and Prussia for supremacy.
 - b. The old Austrian empire—its weaknesses.

- c. The achievement of German unity.
 - i. Bismarck and his plans and ideals.
 - ii. The Danish War—Schleswig-Holstein.
 - iii. The Austrian War—Austria displaced as leader.
 - iv. The French War and German unity.
- d. The nature and ambitions of the new German empire.

III. Relations with the United States.

- 1. The early German migration into the colonies.
 - a. Reasons for their coming.
 - b. Feeling of colonial leaders—Franklin.
 - c. Contributions to our national life.
- 2. The XIX century migration.
 - a. Reasons for coming.
 - b. Types of immigrants—Carl Schurz and others.
- 3. Feeling in Germany about these losses of population.
 - a. Prince Henry's visit and its significance.
 - b. The German-American Society.
- 4. The results of the World War.
- 5. The future.
 - a. Commercial, industrial, and cultural relations.

F. Spain

- I. Geography.
 - 1. Physical—Soil, surface, climate, location.
 - 2. Economic—Productions, industry, and commerce.
 - 3. Cultural—People and language.
- II. History.
 - 1. Early period.
 - a. Carthaginians—Hannibal.
 - b. Roman conquests—senatorial sympathies in Spain.
 - c. Barbarian conquests—Vandals, Visigoths.
 - 2. Mohammedan conquest and culture.
 - a. Reconquest by the Christians—resulting type.
 - b. The revival of learning in Spain.
 - 3. Modern times.
 - a. Spanish claims and colonies.
 - b. England disputes the sea-power—Charles V, Philip II.
 - c. Decline of Spain and loss of colonies.
 - d. Political troubles of the XIX century.
- III. Relations with the United States.
 - 1. Spain and the discoveries, explorations, and conquests.
 - 2. Attitude of Spain in the Revolution—reasons.
 - 3. Spain and the Louisiana and Florida questions.

4. The Spanish-American War.
 - a. Causes—Spain in Cuba, American interests.
 - b. The progress of the war.
 - c. Final loss of all colonies.
5. The future of Spain and its relations with the United States.
 - a. The benefit to Spain of the loss of colonies.
 - b. The industrial and cultural revival in Spain.
 - c. The feeling toward America.

G. Mexico. 4 Periods

I. Geography.

1. Physical—Location, soil, surface, climate.
2. Economic—Productions and industries. Commerce.
3. Cultural—People and language.
 - a. Those of pure European blood. Compare and contrast
 - b. Those of mixed blood. with the similar topics
 - c. Those of Indian blood. in the United States.

II. History.

1. Aztecs—Culture and government.
2. Story of the Spanish conquest.
3. Mexico a Spanish colony.
 - a. Treatment of the natives. Contrasts and comparisons with English colonies.
 - b. Development of resources.
 - c. Control of home government.
4. Mexico independent.
 - a. The struggle for independence.
 - b. Troubles in establishing a government.
 - i. Iturbide.
 - ii. Santa Anna.
 - iii. Juarez.
 - iv. Diaz. Their policy of sympathy with the great land-holders.
 - v. Revolution of 1910-1920—Liberalism.

III. Mexican-American relations.

1. The question of the Texas boundary.
2. War—Territorial cessions to America.
3. The French, Maximilian, and the Monroe Doctrine.
4. Recent border troubles.
5. The future of the relations with the United States.
 - a. Reasons for unfriendliness.
 - i. Memories of the War of '46.
 - ii. Diaz's grants to American capitalists.
 - iii. Misinterpretation of America's attitude toward Latin-America in general.

- b. Establishment of better conditions.
 - i. United States practicing firmness and fairness.
 - ii. Mexico educating her children better.

H. South America. 6 Periods

I. Geography.

- 1. Physical—Location, soil, surface, climate.
- 2. Economic—Productions, industries, commerce.
- 3. Cultural—People and language.
 - a. Portuguese in Brazil.
 - b. Spanish in the other countries.

II. History.

- 1. Spanish conquests and settlements.
 - a. The conquest of Peru reviewed.
 - b. Venezuela—the name and its meaning.
 - c. The methods of settlement.
 - i. The commercial settlements.
 - ii. The Conquistadores.
 - iii. The true colonists.
- 2. Brazil and the Portuguese. The line of demarcation.
- 3. The revolutions of the early XIX century.
 - a. Leaders—Bolivar, O'Higgins, others.
 - b. Factors favoring the movement.
 - i. Spain's weakness in Napoleonic period.
 - ii. England's sympathy owing to favorable trade agreements with revolutionary governments.
 - c. Confederations waging war of liberation.
 - i. Failure of these confederations. Compare with the United States. Reasons.
- 4. Brazil and its relation to Portuguese crown.
- 5. The nations as independent powers.
 - a. Plans of the European System of Metternich.
 - b. The Monroe Doctrine:
 - i. Original meaning.
 - ii. Attitude of England—Economic reasons for same.
 - c. Failure of the nations to establish true democracies.
 - i. Racial, economic, and traditional reasons for failure.
- 6. Present points of friction on the continent of South America.
 - a. The Peru-Bolivia-Chile question.
 - b. Colombia-Panama question.
- 7. The A-B-C powers, Argentine, Brazil, Chile.
 - a. Settlement of mutual strifes.
 - b. The crest of the Andes.
 - c. The building of trans-Andean railways.

- III. Relations with the United States.
 - 1. The modifications and extensions of the Monroe Doctrine.
 - 2. The trouble with Colombia over the Panama revolution.
 - 3. The recognition of the A-B-C powers.
 - a. In the Mexican crisis.
 - b. Future relations including Canada.
 - 4. Trade stimulation due to:
 - a. Cessation of the German trade due to the war.
 - b. The opening of the Panama Canal.
 - c. The establishment of branch banks.
 - 5. The future of the North American-South American relations.
 - a. Difficulties of language and tradition.
 - b. The facilities of European trade.
 - c. Discussion of the desirability of closer relations.

I. *The Caribbean and the West Indies. 5 Periods*

I. Geography.

- 1. Location—The American Mediterranean—Description.
- 2. Other physical features—Soil, surface, climate.
- 3. Economic—Productions, industries, commerce.
 - a. The value of this commerce in early days—Sugar.
- 4. Cultural—Peoples, language.

II. History.

- 1. Spain in the Caribbean.
 - a. Columbus and the settling of the Islands.
 - b. The claims of Spain to monopoly.
 - c. Fate of the natives. Las Casas and the negroes.
 - d. Value as refitting places for the longer voyage to Mexico and the Isthmus—Need for such refitting.
- 2. Attempts to break Spanish control.
 - a. Admiral Penn and the conquest of Jamaica.
 - b. The Buccaneers. Blackbeard, Kidd, etc.
 - c. Later acquisitions—the Bermudas, the Bahamas.
 - d. French—Treaty of Ryswick and Haiti. Other acquisitions.
 - e. Prussians—Their neglect and failure.
 - f. The Danes.
 - g. The Dutch—Guiana and some islands.
- 3. British supremacy.
 - a. The French-English naval battle during American Revolution.
 - b. The decline of other national influences.

4. Movements toward independence.
 - a. Haiti and Santo Domingo—the negro republics.
 - b. The futile attempts of Cuba.
 - c. Review success of Cuba from Spanish-American War.

III. Relations with the United States.

1. Early attempts at annexation—Commercial motive.
 - a. John Quincy Adams, 1825—Cuba.
2. Slavery motive.
 - a. Overtures for purchase of Cuba, 1848.
 - b. The Ostend Manifesto.
3. Grant and the Santo Domingo question.
4. The mandatories and protectorates of the recent years.
 - a. Cuba and the Platt Amendment.
 - b. Control of Haiti and Santo Domingo.
 - c. Porto Rico—the Virgin Islands.
5. The motive of the protection of the Canal.
6. The future of the West Indies.

J. The Panama Canal. 4 Periods

I. Geographic importance of the Canal.

II. Early history.

1. The Spanish attitude—Charles V and the Will of God.
2. The discovery of gold in California and the importance of the route.
 - a. The building of the railroad.
 - b. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty.
3. The French attempts.
 - a. The fame of DeLesseps.
 - b. Failure of the French—Disease and graft.

III. The building of the Canal.

1. The reasons for the interest of the United States.
 - a. The question of defending the two seabords.
 - b. The interest of other nations endangering the Monroe Doctrine.
 - c. Breaking the monopoly of the transcontinental railroads.
2. Diplomatic difficulties.
 - a. The abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.
 - b. The failure of negotiations with Colombia.
 - c. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty with England.
 - d. Colombia and the Hay-Herran treaty.
 - e. Secession of Panama—the Hay-Beuna-Varilla treaty.

3. Natural difficulties.
 - a. Sanitation—the conquest of yellow fever.
 - b. The Chagres River floods.
 - c. The high ridge to be penetrated.
4. Digging the canal.
 - a. The success of the sanitary measures.
 - b. The decision for the lock canal—control of Chagres.
 - c. The slides in the Culebra.
 - d. Opening the canal.
5. The question of Nicaragua.
 - a. Our supervision of that state.
 - b. Our exclusive right to the route.
 - c. Reasons for the choice of Panama.

IV. Unsettled problems.

1. Colombia's dissatisfaction.
2. Bryan's unratified treaty to remedy this.
3. Divergent opinions as to status of American coasting vessels.

K. Russia and the North Slavs. 4 Periods**I. Geography.**

1. Physical—Location, surface, soil, climate. Compare Canada.
2. Economic—Productions, industries, commerce.
3. Cultural—People, language, characteristics.

II. History.

1. The coming of Rurik.
 - a. The disorganized conditions he found.
 - b. The rise of the power of Moscow.
2. The other nations and early Russia.
 - a. Poland—her government. Absence of natural boundary.
 - b. Sweden and the Baltic region.
 - c. The Turks in the south—other contacts.
3. The work of Peter the Great.
 - a. His wars. Sweden eliminated.
 - b. His economic, military, and cultural reforms.
4. Expansion of Russia in Europe.
 - a. Conquest of the Black Sea region.
 - b. The partition of Poland.
5. Expansion of Russia into Asia.
 - a. The motives—search for furs.
 - b. The extent—collision with China and Japan.
 - c. The Russo-Japanese War—effects.

6. The Russian Revolution.
 - a. The government of Russia—the autocracy.
 - b. The reign of Alexander I and Alexander II.
 - i. The system of Metternich—the Holy Alliance.
 - ii. The freeing of the serfs—reaction.
 - iii. The abortive constitution.
 - iv. The rise of the nihilists and anarchists.
 - v. The establishment of the Duma.
 - vi. The World War.
 - vii. The overthrow of the Czar.
 - viii. The rise of the Bolsheviks—what they want.

III. Relations with the United States.

1. Empress Catherine and the Revolution in America.
2. Russia a factor in the Monroe Doctrine.
3. The attitude of Russia in the Civil War.
4. The purchase of Alaska.
5. The setting up of the Hague tribunal—attitude of the United States.
6. Our attitude in the Russo-Japanese War—reasons.
7. The future—our attitude toward the Bolsheviks.

L. *The South Slavs. 4 Periods*

- I. Geography.
1. Physical—Location, soil, surface, climate.
 2. Economic—Productions, industries, commerce.
 3. Cultural—People and language.

II. History.

1. The coming of the Slavs into Southeastern Europe.
 - a. Relation of the word to “slave.”
 - b. The spread of Christianity among the Slavs.
 - c. Early nations of South Slavs.
 - i. The ancient Kingdom of Serbia.
 - ii. The ancient Kingdom of Bulgaria.
 - iii. The hopeless tribal confusion of the Balkans.
2. The Mohammedans and the South Slavs.
 - a. The Mohammedan conquests and administration.
 - b. The patriotic struggles—Montenegro, Serbia.
 - c. The rise of the modern Balkan nations.
 - i. Racial and boundary animosities.
 - ii. XIX century development of independence.
3. The wars of 1912-1913.
 - a. The league against Turkey—its early success.
 - b. The fight for the spoils—Bulgaria against the others.
 - c. The results.

4. Balkans in the World War—reasons for the lineup.
 - a. Dynastic and racial.
 - b. Unsettled problems arising out of the World War in the Balkans.
- III. Relations with the United States.
 1. The American Ambulance in Serbia.
 2. Our attitude toward Albania and the Dalmatian coast.

M. China. 4 Periods

- I. Geography.
 1. Physical—Location, soil, surface, climate.
 2. Economic—Productions, industries.
 - a. The story of silk—how it came to Europe.
 3. Cultural—People and language.
 - a. Note the conservative nature of the Chinese—reasons.
 - b. Note system of writing—ideographic vs. phonetic.
- II. History.
 1. The notable conquests of China.
 - a. Early native dynasties.
 - b. The Mongol rulers—Ghengis Khan—Kublai Khan.
 - i. Marco Polo and his book.
 - c. The Manchu rulers.
 2. Chinese arts and inventions.
 - a. Their invention of paper.
 - b. The discovery of explosive powder.
 - c. The mariners' compass.
 - d. The art of printing.
 - e. Discussion of reasons why China is not leader of modern civilization.
 3. Recent Chinese history.
 - a. Relations with the Occidental nations.
 - b. The establishment of trading ports.
 - c. Relations with Great Britain—Hong Kong—the Opium War.
 - d. Relations with France—loss of southeastern provinces.
 - e. Relations with Russia along the Amur—in Mongolia and Manchuria. Railways and termini.
 - i. The Japanese War and its results—Formosa.
 - ii. The question of Korea.
 - iii. Japan's demands in recent years.
 - iv. The feeling between the two powers.
 - g. The establishment of the Republic.

III. Relations with the United States.

1. Early American trade.
2. The question of Chinese immigration. American laws. Treaties.
3. The Boxers.
 - a. The purposes of the Boxers.
 - b. The seige of the Legations.
 - c. The allied expedition—General Chaffee in council.
 - d. Results of the Boxer uprising.
4. Indemnities.
 - a. The surplus American fund returned—the educational uses of the fund.
 - b. The good feeling arising out of American attitude.
5. The future—Has Japan unwisely created a potentially powerful foe nearby, or will the yellow races combine against the white?

N. Japan. 4 Periods**I. Geography.**

1. Physical—Location, soil, surface, climate. Compare England.
2. Economic—Productions, industries, commerce.
3. Cultural—People, language, customs.

II. History.

1. Feudal organization of the early Japanese state.
 - a. The classes of the people.
 - b. The relations of these classes.
 - c. The Mikado—part ruler and part divinity.
 - d. The Shogun—the real ruler and administrator.
2. The awakening in Japan.
 - a. The Mikado resumes the actual administration.
 - b. The abolition of the feudal system.
 - c. The creation of a modern government.
3. Relations with other nations.
 - a. The early treaties—commercial ports established.
 - b. The reception of the consuls and ministers.
 - c. The struggle with China.
 - i. The Chinese-Japanese War—Results.
 - ii. The demands on China in recent years.
 - iii. The Chinese people boycott the Japanese.

- d. Relations with Russia.
 - i. The question of Korea.
 - ii. The question of Port Arthur.
 - iii. The interference of the powers at close of Chinese War.
 - iv. The Russo-Japanese War—conditions of peace.
 - e. Relations with England.
 - i. The treaty of alliance—its former renewals.
 - ii. The question of the present renewal.
 - f. Relations with Germany.
 - i. Jealousy of the German occupation of Shantung.
 - ii. Japanese occupation of Shantung.
- III. Relations with the United States.
1. The question of the shipwrecked whalers.
 2. America and the opening of Japan—Commodore Perry.
 - a. The early treaties.
 - b. The surrender by America of extra-territorial judicial rights.
 - c. The early sympathy and good feeling.
 3. Questions of present importance between Japan and America.
 - a. Immigration.
 - i. California and the Japanese.
 - ii. Japan seeks racial equality.
 - iii. Attempts to settle this question—the treaty.
 - b. America's watchfulness of Japanese ambitions in:
 - i. Mexico. Mexico allows Japanese settlements.
 - ii. South America.
 - iii. Siberia and the North Pacific.
 - c. The question of the jingoes in both nations.
 4. The future.
 - a. Japan's needs—her territorial limitations and growing population.
 - b. America, the British Dominions, and the English alliance.
 - c. Japan and the solidarity of the Yellow Race.
 - d. Japan, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Philippines.

PART THREE. 10 PERIODS

A. *The Responsibilities of America As a World Power*

I. Diplomatic.

1. The League of Nations.
 - a. Arguments for America joining the League.
 - b. Arguments against America joining the League.
 - c. The question of the reservations.

2. Some type of international court.
 - a. Types of dispute we ought to submit to such a court.
 - b. Have we questions we should refuse to submit to court?
 - i. Questions arising from interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.
 - ii. Questions arising out of our immigration laws.
3. The future of the Monroe Doctrine.
4. Question of the acceptance of Mandatories.

II. Economic.

1. America's loans to foreign powers.
 - a. Question of their adjustment.
 - b. The return to normal of foreign exchange rates.
2. America's shipping laws.
 - a. Effect of these laws on existing treaties.
 - b. Effect of these laws on international good-will.
3. America and the depleted store of economic goods.
 - a. Question of production.
 - b. Question of distribution.
4. America and international labor movements.
 - a. The recognition of the Bolsheviks.

III. America and foreign disputes.

1. The question of Ireland.
2. The question of Fiume, etc.
3. The ambitions of Japan.
4. The question of the Central Powers.

IV. The development of confidence in our disinterestedness.

1. Our philanthropic enterprises.
2. Our attitude in weaker neighboring nations.

B. *The Individual Citizen and His World Relations*

- I. The citizen of American ancestry.
 1. Our inherited prejudices against England.
 2. Our inherited catchwords:
 - a. "Entangling Foreign Alliances."
 - b. "The Monroe Doctrine."
 - c. Investigation of validity and present value.
 3. The development of sympathy and understanding.
- II. The citizen of recent foreign affiliation.
 1. Overcoming the inherited antipathies (Ireland-England).
 2. Realization of responsibility as American.
 3. Extension of sympathy and understanding for other nations.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE NINTH-GRADE COURSE
"AMERICA AND THE WORLD"****PART ONE**

General titles needed daily throughout the course.

American History

McLaughlin, West, Beard and Bagley, Muzzey, Forman, or any other standard text. Bassett—"A Short History of the U. S."

American Diplomacy

Fish—"American Diplomacy." Standard text and can be used by pupils of the ninth grade.

Foster—"American Diplomacy in the Orient." A standard authority in this field. Can be used by the pupils.

America as a World Power

Coolidge—"America as a World Power." Embodies many of the ideas in the course as outlined. Was written before the war and needs being brought up to date. Can be used by pupils.

Latane—"From Isolation to Leadership." A short book, plainly and simply written, showing the gradual change of policy in the United States. Suitable for the pupils.

General Modern Histories

Robinson and Beard—"Outlines of European History, Part II."

Robinson and Breasted—"Outlines of European History, Part I." These books can be used by the pupil and should be available daily.

West—"Modern World," and Ashley's "Early European Civilization," and his "Modem European Civilization" are also good for use in class.

Hayes—"A Political and Social History of Modern Europe," in two volumes, is a work that should be on the teacher's desk. Rather too advanced for the use of pupils, it helps the teacher to interpret and evaluate the movements of modern times.

Hazen—"Europe Since 1815." Another book recommended for the use of the teacher rather than the pupil.

Andrews—"Historical Development of Modern Europe," in two volumes. For the teacher rather than the pupil.

Geographies, etc.

Tarr and McMurry—"New Geographies, Second Book," or any other standard textbook that is up to date.

Russell Smith—"Commercial Geography." Professor Smith has several books that should be on the teacher's desk.

Books on Travel—The more recent the better.

Baedeker's guide books to the various parts of Europe contain a great deal of helpful matter for special reports.

Encyclopedia

The Britannica, the America, the International—any of these will be found useful.

PART TWO. REFERENCES FOR SPECIAL TOPICS

Great Britain

Cheyney—"Short History of England." Suitable for both teacher and pupil for general topics.

Cheyney—"Industrial and Social History of England." Gives the development of industry and commerce.

Wrong—"History of the British Nation." Professor Wrong is a Canadian and his History gives an American point of view more than a book written by either an Englishman or an American.

Dickens—"Child's History of England." Very interesting for the children. Some of the stories very well told.

Dale—"Landmarks of British History." Can be used by the pupils.

Taswell-Langmead—"Constitutional History of England." Too difficult for the children, and somewhat out of date. But a valuable book for the teacher's table.

The British Dominions, etc.

Australia: Scott—"Short History of Australia." Professor Scott of the University of Melbourne has given us an excellent history. The chapters on the formation of the Commonwealth are especially good.

Canada: Bourinot—"Canada." A textbook used in the French Catholic schools; gives a new point of view to most American students. Parkman's works give the achievements of France. Thwaite's "France in America" (Hart Series), Munro—"Crusades of New France," and Wrong—"Conquest of New France," are all excellent and can be used by the pupil. If the teacher can read French, the "Histoire du Canada, par les Freres des Ecoles Chretiennes," is good for the distinctly Canadian point of view. Mrs. Humphrey Ward's novel, "Lady Merton, Colonist," creates for the reader the spirit of the New Canada.

The other parts of the British Dominions can well be studied from Hayes (cited above). His discussion of South Africa is very good. The 1900 volume of the National Geographic "The Expansion of England," page 249 (Mead), is good.

France

Life and Government: Adams—"Growth of the French Nation."

Bracq—"France Under the Republic," and Poincaire—"How France Is Governed." Also (for the teacher) Carlisle—"French Revolution," will be found helpful. National Geographic, 1909, page 541, has an article on Brittany, by Smith.

Colonial Empire of France—besides the articles and books on Canada already cited: Payne—"European Colonies," almost out of print and hard to get; Morris—"History of Colonization"; Reinsch—"Colonial Government," are excellent books. The National Geographic, 1900, p. 225, "Colonial Expansion of France," by Bracq, and 1905, p. 76, "French in the Sahara," and 1909, p. 303, "French Africa," the former by Rabot and the latter by Archbald, are authoritative and helpful.

France and the United States: Perkins—"France and the American Revolution"; More—"Benjamin Franklin"; Tuckerton—"Lafayette," are books giving the matter in great detail. Some standard American History (Bassett or Elson) will give the later events in a satisfactory manner.

Italy

History:

Botsford—"Ancient History." One of the best of the high school textbooks. Morey, Webster, West, and Westerman are also good. All can be used by pupils.

Stillman—"Union of Italy."

Cesaresco—"The Liberation of Italy."

Trevelyan—"Garibaldi and the Thousand."

Sedgwick—"Short History of Italy." These books are all on the modern period of Italian History. Some citations from Hayes, Hazen, or Andrews will also be found helpful.

Present-day conditions:

Bazin—"Italians of Today."

King—"Italy of Today."

Foerster—"Italian Immigration of Our Times."

Whelpley—"The Trade of the World."

Clark—"Our Italian Fellow-citizens." The first chapter of the last-named work is excellent as helping to a clearer understanding of the problem of the immigrant.

"Italy"—An interesting little book prepared as a gift to the American naval forces by the Italian navy. Purpose: to enable the two nations to understand each other.

Helpful magazine articles:

Century, 83, p. 895—Italy's Economic Outlook, Whelpley.

Outlook, 94, p. 883—Call of America, Weyl.

Review of Reviews, 53, p. 479—Tourist Italy.

National Geographic, 27, p. 587—Venice, Stieler.

Central European Powers**History:**

Henderson—"Short History of the German People." A standard work on Germany which can be used by pupils.

Dawson—"Development of the German Empire."

Walpole—"History of Twenty-five Years." This is a good work on the interpretation of Germany's conduct in recent years.

Fite—"Germany Between Two Wars."

Schmitt—"England and Germany." A discussion of the increasing rivalry between these powers.

Recent conditions:

War Encyclopedia—Written while we were getting into the war, but some of the articles are worth re-reading.

Seymour—"Diplomatic Background of the War."

"J'Accuse"—Supposed to have been written by a German, but condemns Germany's conduct preceding the war.

Watson—"Racial Problems in Hungary."

Schierbrand—"Austria-Hungary, the Polyglot Empire." The last two named describe vividly the disruptive forces active in Central Europe.

Lutzow—"Bohemia, a Historical Sketch," is a good introduction to the work on Czecho-Slovakia.

Spain

Edward Everett Hale—"Spain" (*Stories of the Nations*).

Irving—"Conquest of Granada." These books can be used by the pupils for topics and reference.

Mrs. Villiers-Wardell—"Spain of the Spanish." A sympathetic treatment of the nation in a descriptive manner.

Clark—"The Spell of Spain." Also a description of the country, its manners, and customs.

National Geographic, 1910—"Spain," Clark.

Cervantes—"Don Quixote" is a story giving much valuable material on Spanish customs, manners, etc. "Gil Blas" is another.

Mexico

Morris—"Historical Tales of Spanish America" is a very useful book for the pupils to use as reference.

Trowbridge—"Mexico Today and Tomorrow."

Chapman—"The Founding of California." Has some excellent stories of the Spanish Franciscan missions.

Norton—"Story of California." Can be used by the children.

The National Geographic:

- Navarro—"Mexico Today," April, May, June, 1901.
Foster—"The New Mexico," January, 1902.
Darton—"Mexico," 1907, p. 493.
Millward—"Mexican Oil," 1908, p. 803.
Olsson-Seffer—"Mexican Agriculture," 1910, p. 1021.
Blackmar—"Spanish in the Southwest."
World's Work—"Mexico."
Bourns, E. G.—"Spain in America."

South America

- Speer—"South American Problems." Valuable for the teacher.
Should not be placed in the hands of the pupil, as the discussions are occasionally frank.
Clark, Francis—"The Continent of Opportunity."
Payne—"European Colonization."
Abbott—"European Expansion." These books describe the migration of the peoples over here.

National Geographic:

- Venezuela, Curtis, 1896, p. 49.
Boundary of Venezuela, 1897, p. 193; 1900, p. 129.
Brazil and Peru, 1906, p. 203.
Brazilian Coffee, 1911, p. 908.
The Inca Highway, Adams, 1908, p. 231.
Cuzco, Adams, 1908, p. 669.
Transandine Railroad, Adams, 1910, p. 397.
Ecuador, Kerr, 1896, p. 238.
Patagonia, Hatcher-McGee, 1897, p. 305, also 1900, p. 41.
Bolivia, Curtis, 1900, pp. 210 and 264 (in two numbers).
Latin-America Constitutions and Revolutions, Foster. This is a very worth-while interpretative discussion of an obscure subject.
Argentine-Chile Boundary, 1902, p. 27.
South America Fifty Years Hence, Pepper, 1906, p. 427.
Argentine, 1906, p. 453.
Latin America and the Pan-American Conference, 1906, p. 474.
Latin America and Colombia, Barrett, 1906, p. 692.
America, Awakened Continent, Root, 1907, p. 61.
Ecuador, Lee, 1907, p. 81.
Bolivia, Calderon, 1907, p. 573.

West Indies and the Caribbean

Johnson, William Fletcher—*History of Cuba* (five volumes). This is a great reference book for both teacher and pupil.

Bonsall—*American Mediterranean*.

Stockton—*Buccaneers and Pirates of Our Coast*. This is a great book for the pupils, as it deals with a period of American History interesting but little known.

Haring—*Buccaneers and Pirates of the West Indies*.

Froude—*English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century*. Inaccurate but interesting.

Kennedy—*Story of the West Indies*. This work gives the history of the British activities in this region.

National Geographic Magazine:

Cuba—Hill, 1898, p. 193.

Danish West Indies—1902, p. 72.

Haiti—Chester, 1908, p. 200.

Cuba's Forests—Wilcox, 1908, p. 485.

Cuba—Excellent description, July, 1920.

The Panama Canal

Bishop—*The Panama Gateway*. Has an excellent history of the canal and its construction.

National Geographic:

The Panama Canal, 1899, pp. 233, 247, 311.

The Canal, 1905, pp. 441, 445, 467.

The Canal, 1906 (Shonts), pp. 55-586.

The Canal, 1909 (Goethals), p. 334, and 1910, p. 149.

The Canal, 1912 (Showalter), pp. 195-208.

The Slides on the Panama Canal, XXV (Austin), p. 245.

Russia and the North Slavs

Bain—*Slavonic Europe*.

Rambaud—*History of Russia*.

Wallace—*Russia*. This book gives an excellent description of the serfs and the problems of serfdom.

Kornilov—*History of Russia*.

Skrine—*Expansion of Russia*.

Kluchevsky—*History of Russia* (up to 1500).

Bolshevism, Aims and Ideals. This book describes the plans of the Communists and the failure of these plans. It may be described as anti-Bolshevik.

Lewinski-Corwin—Political History of Poland.

Orvis—Brief History of Poland.

Phillips—Poland.

National Geographic:

Showalter—Partition of Poland, XXVII, p. 88.

Pechkoff—Glimpses of Russia, XXXII, p. 238.

The South Slavs

Newbigan—Geographical Aspects of the Balkan Peninsula.

Eliot—The Turks in Europe.

Gibbons—The New Map of Europe.

Dominian—Frontiers of Language and Nationality.

Upward—East End of Europe.

West—Modern Progress. This book is suitable for the pupils to read. Its discussion of the South Slavs and the Balkans is short but good.

National Geographic:

Jenkins—Bulgaria, XXVII, p. 337.

Showalter—Serbia, XXVII, p. 417.

Gore—Roumania, XXVIII, p. 360.

China

Bishop—China, An Interpretation. Good missionary book (Bashford).

Tyler—Democratic Movement in Asia.

Douglas—Europe and the Far East. An excellent book for both teacher and pupil.

Latourette—United States and China, 1784-1844.

Bland-Bachouse—The Empress-Dowager.

Smith—Chinese Characteristics, Village Life in China.

Reinsch—World Politics.

Articles in the Encyclopedia on China, Boxers, Confucius.

Giles—Civilization of China. The best of the small books.

Griffis—America in the East.

Foster—American Diplomacy in the Orient.

Marvin—American Merchant Marine.

Coleman—The Far East Unveiled. This book is rather jingoistic and is written against the Orientals.

Mahan—The Problem of Asia. Admiral Mahan is a thorough historian and writes from the military and naval angle.

Griffis—China's Story. Professor Griffis is connected with the University of Tokio and has excellent opportunities for investigation.

Japan

Griffis—*Japan in History*. Professor Griffis's opportunities for authoritative investigation have been indicated above.

Hisho Saito—*History of Japan*. A work by a native Japanese, giving the Japanese point of view.

Reinsch—*Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East*. More suitable to teachers than pupils.

Lord Curzon—*Problems of the Far East*. China, Japan, and Korea are treated in this book.

Brinkley and Kikuchi—*A History of the Japanese People from the Earliest Times to the End of the Meiji Era* (1915). In the Supplements of this book can be found the Constitution of Japan and the Treaty of Portsmouth.

Dyer—*Japan in World Politics*.

There are many other books available, but these cited will enable the teacher and the pupil to complete the course in a satisfactory manner.

PART THREE

Y. M. C. A.—Effective Workers in Needy Fields.

The publications of some of the Missionary Societies describing the possibilities for future work in many of the fields, especially in the Orient—India, China, and Japan.

E. G. Bourne—Essays of Historical Criticism.

West—*Modern Progress*, especially the last chapters. These give a discussion of the possibilities of the future of the world.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHING IN CITY HIGH SCHOOLS OF OHIO

By A. MONROE STOWE, Toledo University
President of The Ohio Academy of Social Sciences

The present article is a partial summary of a report of a survey of social science teaching in Ohio high schools in 1919-20 made by the writer for the Ohio Academy of Social Sciences. The object of the survey was to gain some idea of the extent of social science teaching in the high schools of Ohio, of the time devoted to the social sciences, of the social science texts used, of the social science combinations taught, of the social science preparation of the teachers teaching their subjects, and of possible ways in which the Academy might be of service to high school teachers and students of the social sciences. In this article the writer will present the important facts discovered concerning the teaching of the social sciences in the city high schools of the state.

EXTENT TO WHICH THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ARE TAUGHT

Table I presents the facts discovered concerning the extent to which the social sciences are taught in the city high schools of Ohio. It also gives some interesting comparative data for the years 1917 and 1920.

TABLE I.

Extent of the Teaching of the Social Sciences in the City High Schools of Ohio

	Per Cent of Schools Offering Courses in		
	Civics	Economics	Sociology
In 79 out of 103 schools in 1917.....	94%	43%	7%
In 78 out of 101 schools in 1920.....	100%	56%	30%

It will be noticed that while there has been a rapid increase in the schools offering economics, the percentage of increase in the schools offering sociology has been even greater. The very rapid development of the work in sociology is indicated by the increase in the number of classes from 8 in 1917 to 44 in 1920.

TIME DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

As a rule the time ranges from 200 to 300 minutes per week for from 18 to 20 weeks, and courses are for the most part semester

courses. Sometimes courses in civics offered with American history extend throughout the entire year.

TEXTS USED IN THE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

A glance at the following table will reveal the most popular books in each of the social sciences. In civics the texts by Ashley, Foreman, Garner, Guitteau, and Woodburn & Moran are apparently almost equally popular. In economics the texts by Ely & Wicker and by Thompson are used most frequently. In sociology Towne's "Social Problems" appear to be almost alone in the field.

TABLE II.

Social Science Texts Used in Ohio City High Schools, 1919-20

Author and Title	No. of Schools Using Text
Texts in Civics	
Ashley, The New Civics.....	10
Foreman, Advanced Civics.....	9
Garner, Government in the United States.....	7
Guitteau, Government and Politics in the United States.....	9
Hughes, Community Civics (first year study).....	3
Woodburn & Moran, The Citizen and the Republic.....	9
Other texts mentioned but once or twice.....	6
Total.....	<hr/> 53
Texts in Economics	
Adams, Description of Industry.....	2
Bullock, Introduction to the Study of Economics.....	4
Burch and Nearing, Elements of Economics.....	4
Ely & Wicker, Elementary Economics.....	13
Thompson, Elementary Economics.....	10
Total.....	<hr/> 33
Texts in Sociology	
Ellwood, Sociology and Modern Social Problems.....	2
Towne, Social Problems.....	15
Tufts, The Real Business of Living.....	1
Total.....	<hr/> 18

SOCIAL SCIENCE COMBINATIONS TAUGHT

The following table will give some idea of the great variety of social science combinations taught by social science teachers, who in many, if not most, cases were also scheduled for non-social science subjects such as science, languages, and mathematics. It is interesting to note that the combinations taught most frequently are civics and history

(20), and civics, economics, and history (11). Of the subjects taught alone economics (5) is first, civics (4) second, and sociology (3) third.

TABLE III.

Social Science Combinations Taught by City High School Social Science Teachers, 1919-20

Social Sciences Taught	No. of Teachers Teaching Combination
Civics, Economics, Sociology, and History.....	4
Civics, Sociology, and History.....	1
Civics, Economics, and History.....	11
Civics and History.....	20
Sociology and History.....	1
Economics and History.....	3
Civics, Economics, and Sociology.....	1
Civics and Sociology.....	3
Civics and Economics.....	5
Civics.....	4
Economics and Sociology.....	2
Economics.....	5
Sociology.....	3
Total.....	63

COLLEGE SOCIAL SCIENCE PREPARATION OF OHIO CITY HIGH SCHOOL
TEACHERS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

From Table III it will be seen that the high school teachers of social sciences may be grouped into four large groups: (1) teachers of history and the social sciences; (2) teachers of civics, and of civics and other social sciences; (3) teachers of economics, and of economics and other social sciences, and (4) teachers of sociology, and of sociology and other social sciences. It is interesting to note that from the point of view of college social science preparation for teaching those subjects in the high schools, the first group, composed of the teachers of history and the social sciences, is better prepared to teach history than the social sciences. It is also better prepared to teach the social sciences than any of groups 2, 3, or 4, a fact which will become evident to one who studies carefully Tables IV and V.

Again it is interesting to note from Table IV that all of the social science groups as groups are better prepared to teach history than they are to teach the subjects of their own group. This same conclusion is brought out in Table V with respect to the major subjects of each of the groups.

A careful study of Tables IV and V will also reveal the fact that from the point of view of college preparation in the major subject of the group, the economics group (group 3) seems to follow the

history group (group 1), while the civics group (group 2) seems to be least adequately prepared.

While one must be careful in drawing conclusions from the material contained in Tables IV and V, the evidence seems to point to the conclusion that our high school social sciences are at the present time being taught by teachers who apparently have prepared themselves to teach subjects other than the social sciences. At least from the point of view of college social science preparation, many of these teachers must find themselves seriously handicapped in their work.

TABLE IV.

College Social Science Preparation of Teachers of High School Social Sciences in Ohio City High Schools, 1919-20

In College Social Science	Number of Teachers who when in College earned				
	No Credit	Less than 6 hrs. of Credit	From 6 to 11 hrs. of Credit	From 12 to 17 hrs. of Credit	Over 17 hrs of Credit
<i>Teachers of History and the Social Sciences</i>					
History.....	1	4	5	7	23
Political Science.....	12	10	10	2	6
Economics.....	6	15	13	4	2
Sociology.....	9	13	13	4	1
The 3 Social Sciences Combined.....	3	5	8	7	17
<i>Teachers of Civics and of Civics and other Social Sciences</i>					
Political Science.....	19	10	12	2	5
Economics.....	7	16	17	4	4
Sociology.....	11	12	19	6	
History.....	1	6	8	10	23
<i>Teachers of Economics and of Economics and other Social Sciences</i>					
Economics.....	2	9	11	4	5
Sociology.....	5	12	7	6	1
Political Science.....	9	6	10	1	5
History.....		3	10	5	13
<i>Teachers of Sociology and of Sociology and other Social Sciences</i>					
Sociology.....	2	6	4	3	
Economics.....	1	8	3	3	
Political Science.....	5	4	2	1	3
History.....		4	6	2	3

TABLE V.

College Social Science Preparation of Ohio High School Social Science Teachers, 1919-20

In College Social Science	Percentage of Teachers who in College earned			Number of Teachers
	No Credit	Less than 12 hrs. of Credit	Over 11 hrs. of Credit	
<i>Teachers of History and the Social Sciences</i>				
History.....	2.5%	22.5%	75%	40
Social Sciences.....	7.5%	32.5%	60%	40
<i>Teachers of Civics and of Civics and other Social Sciences</i>				
Political Science.....	40%	45%	15%	48
History.....	2%	25%	73%	48
<i>Teachers of Economics and of Economics and other Social Sciences</i>				
Economics.....	6%	65%	29%	31
History.....		42%	58%	31
<i>Teachers of Sociology and of Sociology and other Social Sciences</i>				
Sociology.....	13%	67%	20%	15
History.....		67%	33%	15

**OHIO HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE OHIO
ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Practically all of the replies from the Ohio city high-school teachers of the social sciences expressed an interest in the work of the Ohio Academy of Social Sciences. A great majority of the teachers agreed that a genuine service could be rendered them by the Academy if it would assume the responsibility of compiling two lists of social science books, one list to contain the books which would be of real service to high-school teachers of the subjects and the other to be composed of the books which would be most interesting and most helpful to high-school students of the social sciences.

To the high-school principals and teachers of the social sciences who so kindly co-operated with me in this survey, I am glad to announce that Ohio Academy of Social Sciences authorized the appointment of a special committee on co-operation with the workers in the field

of high-school social science, that the Academy appreciates the fact that the work of the high-school social science teachers is of vital significance to the very life of our democracy, and that the Academy extends to all such teachers a cordial invitation to become active members in the Ohio Academy of Social Sciences.

THE METHOD OF HISTORY INSTRUCTION USED IN THE BUCYRUS HIGH SCHOOL

By EDWARD S. DOWELL
Bucyrus High School

I. INTRODUCTION. AN INDICTMENT OF THE PRESENT METHOD OF HISTORY IN OUR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

During the last decade, there has been manifested among many progressive history teachers considerable dissatisfaction with the method of history instruction now prevailing in our high schools. Within the past few years, this dissatisfaction has developed with increasing force. The indictment brought against the present method may be considered under five counts.

(1) The prevailing method places too much emphasis upon the textbook. The daily recitation consists almost wholly of a topical discussion of certain assigned pages in the text. The student is questioned by the teacher on the assignment. It is true that in some instances outside reading is assigned, reports on special topics given, considerable map work required and term papers on important subjects called for; but all these play only a minor part in the recitation. In the last analysis, the student studies a text rather than the subject; whereas, according to the progressives, the process should be the reverse.

(2) The prevailing method does not develop the initiative of the students. In the recitation, the initiative is with the instructor. The student contributes to the recitation only what he is required to in answer to the teacher's queries. He assumes the attitude of passivity. Here again, says your progressive, the process should be reversed. The student should be enthroned and given the initiative, the teacher should be dethroned (by being compelled to abdicate).

(3) The prevailing method is too individualistic and does not develop the co-operative spirit. The present method insists that each student should work individually at his task, but provides no way by which a strong student can co-operate with and aid a weak student in mastering his tasks. Co-operation, it is argued, benefits both the capable and the weak and should have a part in a scientific method of instruction.

(4) The prevailing method essays to teach the student too much history. We try to cram the pupils full of organized facts concerning certain periods of man's development, with the result that he leaves

the course confused rather than enlightened. In short, by trying to teach too much history, we teach very little of it. The progressive argues that we need to teach the big outstanding facts in man's progress and not obscure the big things with masses of unintelligible detail. The trees must not hide the forest.

(5) The prevailing method makes no provision for training the student in the processes of investigation. He gets the information required of him in the best way he can, even though that way may be poor. The accumulation of facts is the important thing rather than the way the facts are obtained. Readily admitting that a certain minimum of facts is necessary, it is quite as important to be able to get these facts in a scientific manner. The progressive retorts that a method that emphasizes the accumulation of facts almost exclusively and does not train in how to get facts is deficient and defective.

There is much in this indictment that is true and it has led some teachers of history to seek a method of instruction through experimentation that would overcome the drawbacks of the traditional process.

The plan that I shall explain today has been worked out in an effort to meet the objections raised by the critics of the traditional method.

II. EQUIPMENT USED

In order that we may get the right approach to a study of the "Bucyrus Experiment" proper, it will be necessary for us to give some consideration at this point to the equipment that is used in the course.

Every student is required to purchase a textbook, although the text is used in only a very limited way. It is used chiefly to lend continuity to the study by bridging over gaps not covered by the daily problems and for review purposes. It is my sober judgment that the text can be discarded altogether without injury to the course, but in Bucyrus we have not gone that far.

Another book that the student is asked to provide himself with is a notebook. This is one of the most important tools with which he works. It contains his problems, outline maps and material which he has acquired in his investigations. The way the notebook is used will be discussed in detail later on in the paper.

Another important tool is the history library which is housed in the history recitation room. The work is based almost entirely upon material obtained in this library. This library has required quite an initial financial outlay, but with additions every year, which will not require large financial expenditure, a high grade history library will soon be built up. Our library at present serves us well and is quite superior to the history libraries found in most of our high schools. We have grouped the books selected for our library into two classes:

First, the major reference books, which are used the most, are general in character and cover a wide range, and have been purchased at the ratio of one book for every two pupils. Such books as Thorndike's "History of Medieval Europe," Schapiro's "Modern and Contemporary European History," etc., would come in this class. Second, the minor reference books, which are somewhat detailed and cover only a very limited period, have been purchased at the ratio of one book for every five pupils. Examples of such books are: Archer and Kingford's "The Crusades," Seeböhm's "The Protestant Reformation," Holt and Chilton's "European History 1789-1815."

In connection with our history library, we make free use of the city library, which we have found valuable for reports on special topics, papers, and recent events.

Another bit of equipment that should be mentioned here is the maps. Wall maps have been provided as well as outline maps which from time to time are given to the students to be filled out with important geographical information.

III. THE CLASS PERIOD: THE DISCUSSION

Having considered the equipment that is used in the course, we are now ready to give attention to an analysis of the class period. We can get a proper perspective of the work if we follow through the class period from its beginning to the end.

The class period is 70 minutes long and is divided into two periods. The first, 30 minutes long, is devoted to discussion, and the second, 40 minutes long, is used for investigation.

The discussion comes first. As soon as the class has assembled, the secretary, a student elected by the class, asks for the topic for review, that is, the subject of the previous day's lesson. This is given by some student who volunteers. If the answer is wrong or incomplete, other volunteers make the necessary corrections or give the additional information. If no one volunteers, the secretary calls on different members of the class until the correct information is obtained.

Then comes the review, which is given by a student who has been chosen the previous day for this task. The purpose of the review is two-fold: (1) it aims to sum up briefly the salient features of the problem which have been considered to date, and (2) it seeks to give perspective or background for the work of the day. The review is limited to four minutes. After the review, corrections and additions are made by different students voluntarily and the secretary exercises the right to call for any information not voluntarily given.

The secretary then asks for the topic of the day's discussion, and when this is covered satisfactorily, the secretary turns over the work

of the day to the discussion leader, who has been chosen by the secretary the preceding day for this work.

The discussion leader then announces that the first problem is open for consideration. Any person desiring to contribute anything toward the solution of the problem voluntarily arises and talks. Voluntary contributions continue until the problem has been disposed of to the satisfaction of the leader. If volunteering lags or if no one volunteers, the leader calls on different members of the class for contributions and even asks pointed questions on the problem. Those who do not usually volunteer are the ones most frequently called upon.

A similar policy is pursued until all the problems are discussed adequately.

This work should not consume more than 25 minutes. It is not an easy task to keep a discussion that is at all reasonably thorough and comprehensive within such bounds. Only careful planning and student co-operation will make this possible.

During the discussion period, the instructor is merely an onlooker and does not interfere with the work at hand unless it gets out of proper bounds. It is highly advisable that the students be made to feel that the discussion is theirs, that they are responsible for it and that it should be handled properly without dependence upon the teacher.

After the students have finished discussing the problems of the day's work, the instructor comments on the discussion. This should never go beyond five minutes. These comments consist of explanations of difficulties not well covered in the discussion, answering questions, presenting some material in a new light or calling attention to the big, outstanding features of the lessons. It is well not to give any information that the student can readily find for himself. I frequently use the five minutes to question those who have not contributed anything to the discussion. It serves somewhat to spur the pupils on to answer every problem in the day's assignment and gives the instructor a means of testing whether all the day's work has been done.

The next step is the selection by the secretary of a discussion leader for the following day and the discussion leader chooses some one to take the review. If it happens to be a Monday's recitation, the class selects a secretary, in the usual parliamentary way, for the following week.

Problems for the next day are then given out by the instructor. These have been mimeographed in the superintendent's office and each student is furnished a copy gratis. The problems for each day are printed on one sheet. Each sheet is punched so that when it is put in the notebook it will fall on the left side when the book is opened. On the right side, opposite the problems, the student places a sheet of

blank paper, also punched, upon which he writes the answers to the problems.

If reports, map work, essays on special topics, etc., are to form a part of the next day's lesson, these assignments are made after the problems have been distributed.

The assignment for the next day marks the close of the discussion and the beginning of the last phase of the class period, the investigation part of the work.

IV. THE CLASS PERIOD: THE DISCUSSION

After the problems have been distributed and placed in the notebooks, the pupils then proceed to collect and digest material in an effort to solve these problems. In order that the problems may be solved by the average student within the period allowed for investigation, the number is limited to six or eight. Before the students begin work on the problems, the instructor calls the attention of the class to those books in the library that will be found most helpful in the work.

During the first 25 minutes, the students work independently on the problems. They are urged to use at least two different books for each problem. The material collected, say on problem No. 1, is written down in ink on the sheet opposite the problem, he proceeds to the next and treats it in the same way. Then the remaining problems are considered and a satisfactory answer for each sought.

In this work, the student is urged to guard against giving too much time to one or two problems. There is often a disposition to slight some problem and work out others thoroughly. Speed and accuracy, as well as comprehensiveness, are encouraged.

During this period, the instructor aids the pupils individually. They are taught how to use an index rapidly, how to determine what material can be used, how to condense it, and how to use books to obtain additional material. To be able to use a history library with due regard to rapidity and accuracy is a process of growth and requires time for development. During the past year, at least two-thirds of our students acquired the ability to use the history library reasonably well. Such an accomplishment was well worth the time and effort spent on it. If this work is to be well done, the instructor must be constantly "on the job." Otherwise, the students will waste time and develop poor methods of investigation.

The last part of the period is given over to co-operative activity and occupies 15 minutes. The class, which usually has about 25 students, is divided into groups of five. Each group is under a group leader. The group leader is selected by the instructor and is a pupil of A-1 scholarship and leadership. During this period, difficulties encountered by the students in the preceding part of the period are

thrashed out and some conclusion reached. In this group conference, the poor student can obtain aid in surmounting some of his difficulties. The group leader is held responsible for the work of the members of his group and this spurs him on to see that every one in his group makes his contribution. In helping weak students, we have proceeded on the principle that the pupils should be aided to help themselves and should not have the answers to the problems turned over to them. During this part of the period, the instructor moves from group to group and by suggestion aids the pupils in their work.

In this work, another problem presents itself, namely, keeping the conferences from degenerating into meaningless wrangling over certain points in the lesson. Much depends upon the group leader and by suggestion and careful supervision the instructor can make these conferences constructively worth while to the students. I have found it very helpful to meet the group leaders once a week in conference where plans are laid for the coming week.

Before leaving this phase of the subject, I want to call attention to the great importance of the investigating period—it is the key-stone of the whole scheme. It is far more important than the discussion period, for if the investigating period is properly used, the discussion the next day will be eminently satisfactory. Unless the instructor puts the best that he has into every minute of this period, it will not produce the results desired. Failure to make the investigating period efficient will scrap the whole plan.

V. DEVICES FOR CREATING INTEREST IN WORK

Obviously, if every recitation is carried on as already indicated, interest in the work would tend to lag from sameness of procedure. To keep interest at a high level, various devices have been introduced. Let us now give brief consideration to a few that have been used in Bucyrus.

In the arrangement of the classroom, the conventional plan has been departed from. At the head of the class sits the discussion leader and at the right of the leader are two parallel rows of chairs, and, at the left of the leader, there are also two parallel rows of chairs. These rows face the center of the classroom. This scheme of seating permits the student, when reciting, to talk to the class rather than to the instructor. Our experience has been that this plan serves to create and enliven interest in the work.

Contests between different sections will also stimulate students to do first-class work. The desire to win is strong among boys and girls and a well worked out contest between the sections should help considerably in promoting good scholarship. Last fall, I tried such a scheme in my class in Modern History. The contest was for a period of eight weeks and at the end of each week the rating of each section

was placed on a scoring device on the front board of the classroom. This contest not only created interest but improved scholarship standings.

Another plan is contests between two groups in the same section. This can be easily done by allowing two students to choose up and then seat one side on the left of the discussion leader and the other side on the right of the discussion leader. The side making the best scholarship rating for a given period is declared the winner. In the spring, I tried this plan in my five sections of Modern History. The contest covered eight weeks and the losing side was to banquet the winning side. In the interest created, this contest surpassed my fondest expectations. Many students ,heretofore indifferent, became vitally interested in the work.

Still another device is to devote a recitation occasionally to a debate on some subject connected with the history work. Last spring at the close of our consideration of the Industrial Revolution, we staged a debate on whether the Industrial Revolution had done more harm than good. This debate, like many others that were held, served to create much interest and enthusiasm.

Interest may also be created by excusing from the monthly examination those who attain a certain standard of scholarship during the month. This is not only a legitimate thing to do in that it rewards merit, but it can be made an excellent vehicle for stimulating and sustaining interest in the work.

Still again, it is often advantageous for the instructor at different times to act as discussion leader. It lends variety to the recitation and serves to keep up interest.

Of course it should be observed that there will be some, even though the above and many more devices be used, who will never become interested in the work. The solution of such problems will depend largely on the patience and ingenuity of the instructor and personal work with the uninterested students.

VI. CRITICISMS OF THIS METHOD

Against the method, already outlined, there has been some criticism. The objections raised can be reduced to two propositions. First, it is held that students will prepare on one of two problems, recite on these and ignore the other problems. In a word, the method under consideration is more likely to lead to the pupils studying only a part of the day's lesson than is the case under the traditional method. Second, it is contended that the day's assignment can be covered more thoroughly if the instructor questions the students. Let us take up these criticisms in order and consider their validity.

At first blush, there seems to be some truth to the first criticism but an analysis of the method shows that the criticism is not valid.

If the instructor will call in the notebooks frequently and without notice, he can readily determine who are and who are not answering all the problems, for on the sheet opposite each page of problems, the pupil is required to write his answers to the problems. If there are frequent pages with only a few problems answered, he can conclude that the student has not been doing the work required of him. Then the teacher can deal with the loafer individually. Furthermore, the instructor can act frequently as discussion leader and by skillful questioning of those suspected of loafing can readily find out whether the suspicion is well founded. Such questioning will invariably discourage the practice of working out only a few problems. Moreover, frequent written lessons in which the students are asked to write out the answers to all the problems in the day's work, not only will indicate beyond dispute those who are failing to do their full measure of work, but will also serve as a powerful deterrent against shirking. Again, students realize that if they prepare on only a few problems and then can not recite on them because others are first to volunteer their day's work is lost and their task of reciting at least three times a week as a minimum is made more difficult. Hence the tendency to prepare on all the problems. In my experience, I have found the students more likely to prepare the entire lesson under the new method than under the traditional plan.

The second criticism does not seem to have great weight. If the students are taught to investigate the problems thoroughly in the investigation period, the problems will be carefully covered the next day in the discussion. If perchance any important matter is omitted, the instructor can bring this out by careful questioning at the close of the discussion. My experience has shown that under the new method the day's work is as thoroughly handled by the students as under the old way.

I am forced to the conclusion that if the new method breaks down and shows any weakness it is not the fault of the method but is rather due to the lack of acuteness and versatility on the part of the instructor.

VII. RESULTS ACHIEVED BY THIS METHOD

We have used this method in Bucyrus for a little over a year, and, while it is probably too early to pass final judgment on it, certain important things have been achieved in the short time it has been used.

Here are some of the important results:

- (1) The text has been relegated to a minor place in the course and the subject rather than the text is taught.
- (2) Student initiative has been encouraged and developed. The instructor has abdicated, the students have been enthroned.

(3) Co-operative activity among the students has been added to individual initiative with excellent results.

(4) Training in the elementary principles of investigation has definitely supplanted the old "hit and miss" plan of study.

(5) Less historical information is imparted than under the old method, but the history taught has been taught more thoroughly and has been made more purposeful.

(6) The students under the new order of things have become vastly more interested in history than under the other plan.

These results have surpassed our fondest expectations and are a most hopeful portent for the future. We believe that the new method has placed our history teaching on a higher plane than it was before.

VII. CONCLUSION

In this brief paper I have sought to give only a bird's-eye view of the method we are trying out in the Bucyrus High School. A detailed analysis has been purposely omitted, because such an account would occupy more time than has been allotted to me. The method discussed is not offered as a "cure all" for the ills of history teaching in our secondary schools. It is merely advanced as an honest attempt to improve the technique of history instruction. With some of the views expressed, there will doubtless be some dissent—among some probably strong dissent—but if I have awakened among any of you a desire to get away from the beaten path of history pedagogics and try to find a better method of presenting historical truths to the minds of our high school boys and girls, I shall feel that my effort here today has been productive of some good. When we begin to experiment sanely in this matter, and not until then, will we be able to evolve a more purposeful and scientific method of history teaching. In such a course lies progress.

ESSAY WORK IN CONNECTION WITH TEACHING CIVICS

By JULIE FROTSCHER KOCH

Ottawa Township High School, Ottawa, Illinois

Nothing seems to give the college student greater pleasure on returning to the high school from which he graduated than to be able to pick flaws in his old instructors, and the secondary curriculum in general; nevertheless, in many cases this apparent lack of appreciation is not only justifiable on his part but may be helpful to his former teachers, and the following experiment which has been used with the greatest success has been the outgrowth of such criticism.

Many of our lads on returning at vacations have complained of the difficulties they have met in writing essays for college professors who, presuming that the technicalities have been fully mastered in the high school, assign topics beyond the freshman's ken, subjects which require more than a passing acquaintance with a catalogue drawer and the Dewey system, familiarity with the common library aids, and, above all, thorough ease in the manipulations of notes, and the common devices used in putting a paper together. If the university will not unbend to the point of including instruction in this in the freshman curriculum, and if only the larger high schools can afford to include a course in note taking in the schedule, some effort must be made in the high school to attempt at least a compromise, and no class offers better opportunities for the experiment than that in civics. First, the student enters the course with some idea of the field which has been covered in a desultory fashion in the grammar school so that there is not the need for intensive drill as in other classes; second, since the primary object of the course is to interest boys and girls in current movements, political and social, which movements are commonly taught through scrapbooks, library reading and oral reports in class, there is every opportunity to teach the student to make use of the library equipment at his disposal.

When the class has read and reported on selections from such books as "How the Other Half Lives," "Twenty Years at Hull House," and "The George Junior Republic," and has learned to weight and sift evidence after a current magazine such as "The Literary Digest" has been used for a few weeks, each student is assigned some topic which may appeal to him upon which he writes a thousand word essay due at the end of the course. In all cases, the material must be secured by

writing to the government, preferably, or to some political, economics, or social organization. This serves a two-fold purpose. The experience which the letter writing affords is invaluable, and the perusal of the government documents is the most certain way of informing the student of the vast work which Washington is doing in behalf of its citizens in agriculture, husbandry, engineering, chemistry, etc., besides instilling into him a greater respect for the federal government than he ever had before. I was surprised and chagrined to see how many boys had no conception of the forms of a business letter (although drill in such had been included in the English course), to say nothing of asking for material clearly, coherently, and concisely. In all cases when no response comes from the organization addressed, the student is required to write a second letter so that he may learn to appreciate the desirability of promptness in answering business communications, as well as the need for accuracy on his own part.

Having become familiar with the nature of the official organs of such societies as the Proportional Representation League, the National Voters' League, the Municipal Reform League and the like, the student next searches through the "Readers' Guide," "Poole's Index," etc., for the current magazine articles on his subject. Sometimes there are books to be consulted, a chance bibliography to be found in a debating manual, a prominent citizen connected with the movement to be written to. In every case a complete bibliography with the full title of the author, the name of the publisher, and the date of publication of the book is kept on library cards so that an alphabetical list can be more easily compiled for the final draft. The boys will be found especially quick to give more credence to books of later publication, and to use discrimination. If it is only to note the author's qualifications for writing on the subject, it is, at least, a step in the right direction. It is a most difficult task to see that the books are listed, but I don't think their college instructors will have them say; "I don't know. I found those facts in a book in the library" or "I found it in a book at home but I forgot just which one." Further, this insistence on a truthful bibliography breaks down the inclination to crib. The public library in our town is small enough for the student to work in comfortably, and by a special arrangement with the librarian no one is given assistance unless it be absolutely necessary and this does not occur as often as one might expect. A youngster will take pride in doing his work independently if that thought be suggested to him, and this brief browsing in the library will often lead to most unexpected channels of interest, even to making a sluggard a grind for a brief interval; I speak from experience.

During the reading of the various magazines, etc., notes—kept preferably on library cards or else on heavy white paper—are kept according to the usual collegiate fashion and are subject to inspection

before the essay is due, merely to act as a check on the student's work.

Title of Book	
	Gist of Subject Matter
Page	
	Reference

From time to time, the weaker students are summoned for conferences, encouraged, and are assisted in the technique of note-taking.

At a specified time the notes are collected in class, and after the instructor has been assured that the rules have been followed, the student is next allowed to write an outline for his paper, the same form as that used in the English department being insisted upon. He reviews the substance matter of his notes, makes his outline, and writes on each card its proper place in the outline; for example, "1 A a," or "2 B c." Finally, the paper is couched in as good English as the student is capable of, and for the more mature and ambitious ones footnotes are encouraged. Thus the complete routine necessary for writing a paper to satisfy the most fastidious university professor has been drilled into the pupil under the instructor's guidance.

The instinct to crib, to copy verbatim the words of a reference book consulted is natural in the adolescent youth, and can only be overcome with patience; high-school pedagogues would be wealthy individuals had they a penny for every curtain lecture delivered on the subject. With the note system it will be found that there is slight chance for the student to yield to temptation, since the teacher is cognizant of the material on the cards, and there is at least more probability that a habit of honesty will be inculcated.

All pamphlets received, all documents sent by the government, are handed in with the paper, and this material will furnish for rural schools with inadequate facilities for outside reading the nucleus of a small but substantial library. Our shelf of civics material contains articles on proportional representation, copies of the "Searchlight," pamphlets on day nurseries, reforms in prisons, the work of the Consumer's League, the activities of immigration societies, work among the negroes, pamphlets on Americanization problems, new chemical explosives, food preservatives discovered by government experts, household sanitation, etc.

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A TEACHER'S OBSERVATIONS OF PRACTICE-TEACHING IN HISTORY

By E. M. SELBY
North High School, Columbus

Much has been said but little has been written by Columbus teachers relative to practice-teaching in their classes. It has been my rather unique experience as a history teacher not only to have done my practice work in a class of the teacher who gave me my first insight into American History in high school, but also to have since had under my charge one of the pupils in that class as a practice teacher. Thus I have experienced practice work both as practice teacher and observer. The conclusions reached in this paper are based on experiences as a student in the College of Education of the Ohio State University, observations as a supervising teacher of three practice teachers, and conversations with fellow-history teachers in the Columbus North High School.

We teachers are not opposed to placing a class in charge of a student teacher who has adequate preparation for the work. The degree of opposition increases as inadequately prepared students are permitted by their instructors to do practice work. Teachers, being interested in their pupils' welfare, as well as in their subject, oppose and will continue to oppose the sending to them of students from the College of Education whose only interest in their college work is to secure the required number of semester hours necessary for graduation.

Such students as enter the second semester of their senior year with no better than average grades in the subjects they are planning to teach should not be assigned practice work. A ruling such as this would remove most of the hesitancy which a teacher might have in giving up a class to a practice teacher. So long as colleges of education permit students of only average preparation in their special subjects to do practice work and receive diplomas they are lowering the standard of teaching in this state,—for every graduate of a recognized college of education is granted a certificate to teach. If the prospective history teacher has not shown more than ordinary ability in the mastery of his subject it is *prima facie* evidence that he has not acquired those habits of study which would make him a valuable addition to the profession. The assumption made by history instructors in the colleges and universities that students in their beginning courses "know little or nothing of the subject" must be directly traceable to poor teaching in the high school by teachers who know little or nothing.

ing of the subject. Should, then, the university instructor criticise the poor history teaching in the high school if he permits the inadequately prepared student to hide behind a provisional certificate and pose as a teacher of history?

Instances are on record where students who have completed their junior year in the College of Arts suddenly decide to turn teacher. Their credits are scattered throughout every department in the college. They may have neither specialized nor shown proficiency in any particular subjects, but they have the minimum number of hours required to register for a course in the teaching of a subject,—it might be history. Now they must satisfy the requirements of the College of Education, and their entire senior year is given over to the professional subjects of psychology, history of education, school administration, principles of education, and practice work. Have such students the proper foundation to become successful history teachers? Should the College of Education encourage these eleventh-hour conversions? These instances may not be numerous, but are they not causes for poor teaching preparation? Are not such students permitted to practice upon the children in our high schools just the same as those students who have specialized? Will the permitting of such students as these to become teachers tend to raise the already too low standard of history teaching in the state of Ohio? How can they guide others if they have not an adequate knowledge of the subject themselves?

The value of the experience received by the ambitious, well-prepared student in his practice-teaching cannot be overestimated. On the other hand, it is extremely doubtful if a student with only a limited knowledge of his subject receives any great benefit from this experience even though he has had the required training in the professional subjects. He spends the most of his time in his daily preparation trying to learn the history he should have learned in his college courses and devotes little, if any, of his time planning how to reach the pupils of his class. More than this, his superficial knowledge of his subject confines him to his textbook and he not only brings little outside information to his class, but knows not where to send his pupils for further information. He is thus unable to develop further, or answer with any degree of accuracy the questions of inquiring pupils relative to, topics of interest which are dealt with very briefly in the conventional high-school text. His embarrassment and lack of self-control increase with the frequency of such incidents as these, and such knowledge as he possesses concerning discipline and method becomes of little use to him. The student teacher with a good foundation in history and related subjects meets these situations calmly and confidently. He knows he is responsible for knowing what information is worth while whether it is in the textbook or not. If unable to answer a question, his reply to the pupil is that he does not know, but will look it up and report on it.

the next day. And he knows where to find the information, too. Thus he retains not only his self-confidence but the confidence of the class as well. We history teachers do not expect a student to take charge of one of our classes and proceed to perform like an experienced teacher, but we do expect and have a right to expect that these students come to us with more than a fair knowledge of the subject.

Generally the student teacher is required to observe several classes in his subject and a smaller number of classes in other subjects before being assigned to any teacher for practice work. Having completed the required number of observations, the student secures the permission of the teacher under whom practice work is sought. Most teachers prefer that the student attend the class for a few days as an observer, acquainting himself with the class and such equipment as may be used in the recitation, and preparing the lesson just as if he were to assume charge. After four or five days the student assumes charge and becomes the practice teacher. As a rule, most teachers give a free rein to the practice teacher the first day or two he has charge of the class, but thereafter are daily observers in the classroom.

Invariably there is a noticeable let-down in the work of the class after the practice teacher takes charge. This is to be expected while the new teacher is overcoming obstacles attendant to a new situation. Here, then, is a splendid opportunity for the student history teacher to bring the class back to normal, for, to quote one of my honored college instructors, in history as in no other field of teaching are the personal traits of the teacher displayed. The length of the slump on the part of the class will depend then upon the student teacher himself. In my own experience with practice teachers the class let-down was of comparatively short duration. I must say that in each instance the student teacher sent to me for practice work has acquitted himself with credit. In a few days each adjusted himself to his task and this was followed by good response on the part of the pupils. Most of the pupils soon gave evidence of a liking for their temporary teacher and even seemed interested in his making a good showing in his practice work. In a few instances some pupils could not adjust themselves to the new teacher, and their work suffered as a result.

One of the first things observed after the practice teacher has acquainted himself with the class is that he calls on the more responsive pupils much more frequently than on the slower ones. In one instance I recall one of the brightest pupils reciting six times during the period. The temptation to seek response where it was certain to be found was too great. However, the habit of calling on the brighter pupils when observers are present is not confined to the practice teachers alone. Will all the teachers who call on only their more backward pupils when the supervisor is present please rise?

Teachers should not be critical of the methods of the practice teacher if they make no attempt to correct them. Criticism will no

more help the teaching profession than anything else if a different way of doing the same thing is not at the same time presented. In my experience, practice teachers have invited criticism and suggestions, asked questions, and tried to carry out the suggestions made.

One thing I cannot explain is the practice teacher's lack of knowledge concerning collateral work in history; in my case, American History. Each teacher, as a rule, likes to make his own list of such readings and this opportunity has always been given to my student teachers. The library in our building has a most excellent collection of the standard works in American History and related subjects and this fact has always been made known to those doing practice work in my classes. But in every instance the practice teacher has had to be shown the way to these volumes and has been perfectly satisfied to use the regular teacher's list of references.

My observations have also led me to believe that my practice teachers were not wide awake to current events and thus failed to associate similar events of the past and present. A lesson dealing with the fraud, crookedness, and profiteering at the expense of the Government during and following the Civil War elicited no comment on the part of the teacher concerning similar acts during and following the World War. Another teacher, in lessons dealing with Washington's neutrality proclamation of 1793 and his Farewell Address in 1796, missed a golden opportunity for a discussion by failing to call the class's attention to its current history lesson of the week before concerning the League of Nations or to mention Senator Borah's address in this very city just a few days before.

The Johnson impeachment case caused one teacher not a little difficulty. "If the President is impeached by the House, then why does the Senate have to bother with him?" was the first pupil's question. Answer: "Because the Constitution says so." Second pupil's question: "What does it mean to impeach the President?" Answer: "To remove him from office." Pupil asking first question: "Then if the House removes the President when it impeaches him, I don't see what there is left for the Senate to do." Comment of teacher: "I must be confused about the *use* of the word 'impeach'." Just then the bell rang closing the recitation period and increasing the confusion. The next day the teacher explained the meaning of the word 'impeach.'

A discussion concerning the Clayton-Bulwer treaty brought forth the question: "Does Great Britain own any territory in Central America today?" The teacher was not positive, but agreed to answer the question the next day. But both teacher and questioner forgot all about it until brought up again and answered by a third party.

After the completion of his practice work the ambitious practice teacher should have a considerable insight into the teaching of history. He should have learned some of his weaknesses (more will be

discovered later) whether in method or knowledge of his subject. He should have made the discovery, startling as it may be at first, that in spite of all his careful explanations and drills, many of his pupils will not give much evidence of historical knowledge in a written lesson. He should have learned that all pupils do not and cannot make the same response. His ten weeks' practice under competent supervision should have been worth more to him than a whole year of practice without supervision.

Is the regular teacher benefited in any way by observing the work of a practice teacher in one of his classes? Each teacher to whom this question was asked gave a negative answer. However, the majority take pride in the thought that they have been of service to those college students who desire to become teachers. It enables those of us who are graduates of colleges of education or normal schools to better appreciate the doubts and misgivings of those kind teachers who permitted us to practice on their classes.

So long as the present laws regarding the certification of teachers remain on the statute books of Ohio, the high schools must look to the colleges of education for teachers. In the absence of regular practice schools these colleges must look to the high schools for practice work. Thus these two institutions are dependent upon each other. However, the standard of history teaching or any other kind of teaching in this state will be determined to a great degree by the type of teachers turned out by the colleges of education. In the near future all the students who enter the colleges and universities will have been led along the high-school paths of knowledge by only those men and women whom the colleges of education have designated to be teachers.

No, the history teachers are not opposed to placing classes under charge of a practice teacher. We only want to be sure that the practice teacher is prepared to undertake the work. We want to help him learn to teach, but we do not want him to get his first real acquaintance with his subject while practicing on our pupils. The colleges of education are doing a great service toward furthering education in the state, but we believe they can do an even greater service by placing more emphasis on the scholarship of prospective teachers in their special subjects and less emphasis on the completion of a certain number of semester hours in the professional subjects.

PRACTICE-TEACHING FROM THE STUDENT'S VIEWPOINT

By UDA M. BOLEN
High School, New Albany, Ohio

All the seniors at the Ohio State University know that practice teaching is to be one of their tasks before they can receive a diploma from the College of Education. The majority of them rather dread the experience because it is something of which they know very little and for which they are still less prepared. It is true they have attended classes and have had theory and method drilled into them, but, after all, that is far from the actual, practical training. Problems and methods of classroom procedure have been explained, but in the beginning, at least, these do not serve as a very great help.

About the first thing to happen of any importance was the teachers' meeting. This was held once a week and it was the aim of the supervisors to talk over, rather informally, problems and difficulties which directly concern the student teachers. At our initial meeting the supervisors were all present and as our class was unusually large we were divided into three groups—each supervisor at the head of one group. After this meeting we met in groups except when some speaker came to address the whole class. The dean of the college gave a talk one week, explaining a few of the "Don'ts" to be observed in teaching.

We were instructed to make the observations before we were assigned to a regular class. Four of these observations were to be in our major subject and three each in our two minors. After this observation period we were permitted to express some preference as to the class we wanted to teach. It was, in reality, more a matter of taking what you got than getting what you wanted. It was necessary to have two consecutive hours vacant each day in order that we might get to and from the school in which we wished to teach. Often-times there were no classes which we could take at the hours we had vacant from work at the University.

Printed blanks were obtained for this observation work. These contained about four specific things to be noted by the observer: (1) Teacher—her appearance, voice, personality, enthusiasm, and interest in work. (2) Methods of presentation—(a) problem method, (b) question and answer, (c) topic method drill. (3) Pupil reaction—attention, general attitude toward other members of class and teacher, interest in the work. (4) Appearance of room and the discipline. As these outlines were printed and merely filled in by the student, there was obviously little chance for individuality in this work. They were

a help in so far as they did give the new and inexperienced student teacher a sample and suggestion as to what to look for. Conditions were, however, so varied that it was impossible to make these outlines fit all cases. Many times the blanks were filled in without any careful study or thought. There was no need to be original.

As a rule, this observation period is not a great benefit. The supervisors did have certain days on which they stayed at particular buildings and helped those who wished to observe at that time to find the classes in which they were most interested. Usually the classes of most benefit to us were at an hour when we were not able to visit them and the result was that we wandered around rather aimlessly, became a trifle disgusted, and left without seeing what we had come for.

Most of the students desire to have their practice work over as soon as possible, especially because they do not wish to have it run into examinations and commencement activities at the University. It is often a hard task to secure a class. A small majority of high-school teachers are opposed to the whole idea and so refuse absolutely to take a practice teacher. Others are glad, I suppose, to be relieved of some work and so turn over their classes gladly to the student. The teacher is, nevertheless, careful to see that the practice teacher is competent and she is reasonably sure that the student is capable of doing the work.

I was especially fortunate in obtaining a teacher who had been one of my former high-school instructors. Previous to my practice teaching I had spoken to her concerning the possibility of getting one of her classes and she generously offered any one most convenient to me.

A week's observation of the class we were to have was supposed to precede the taking over of full charge. However, on the morning I went in to begin this work I found the teacher was absent and there was no substitute. The principal of the school asked me to take two of the classes and as I could do so without seriously interfering with my own work I did so. I was, therefore, fairly thrown into the work without much preparation. When the teacher returned in a couple of days I insisted on a few days' observation in order that I might become better acquainted with her methods and classroom procedure.

We had a talk, and as the class I had intended to take was 11A, Modern European History, she suggested that I take the preceding one, which was 10B. These were sophomores and beginners in history and she felt I would be more able to mold them and that the teaching of younger students would be easier, since they are nearly always more amenable to discipline than upperclassmen. I agreed, partly because I had just finished a very interesting course at the University covering this same field, viz., Ancient, Greek, and Roman History.

The text we used was merely an abridged edition of the more detailed college book I had used, so, fortunately, I was familiar with the

text. It is often hard for the student teacher to become accustomed to more elementary texts. She is often unable to "put it over" simply and clearly as the more experienced teacher does. One of the criticisms of my work was that my attitude was rather that of college and I did not fully realize that the subject must be made interesting and clear. It must be a delightful and educative story rather than a set of facts and accumulation of dates. Long or difficult words I often passed over without thinking that the child did not know them as well as I. I also used too difficult words in class and I suddenly became aware of the fact that the boys and girls were puzzled and were groping around in an attempt to explain their texts. I then set about to reform my language to some extent, not avoiding the difficult words entirely, but using them in moderation, so that the child would not be overloaded with too many new words.

The supervisor from the University, in one of the teachers' meetings, told us to make lesson plans each day. These plans were to include all the material for the day's work. (1) The aim of the lesson was to be decided on and stated. (2) Method and procedure. (If the question-and-answer method was to be used, questions were to be written out.) (3) Conclusion—which was a summary of the main points in the lesson. This has always seemed to me a poor thing to do. In my own work I did not receive any benefit from lesson plans. They were only a necessary evil. I did not feel that I wanted to form the habit of relying on any such artificial means for conducting a recitation. It was my aim to know my subject so well that any little interruption or deviation from the original plan would not upset the whole scheme. I never went to class without a general idea as to the presentation of the lesson, yet I wanted my lesson plan in my head and not on paper.

This question of the advisability of lesson plans is debatable. Some supervisors omit it entirely. Our supervisor required them and we were supposed quietly to hand him the one we were following when he came to visit us. The teacher under whom I taught never inquired about my preparation, but did ask me what I handed to the supervisor when he came. I told her, but she never asked to see the lesson plans nor made any further comment about them.

Nervousness, together with a little throat trouble, caused me to hesitate and sometimes with an audible "ah." I was aware of this, but did not realize how noticeable it was until the supervisor spoke to me about it. I took particular pains to correct this before it became a habit, and the next time he visited I was complimented on my success. This was about the most adverse criticism I ever received. I always went to talk over my work with the supervisor after he had been to see me and his reports of my work were favorable.

The sharpest criticism of our work as a class was that we did too much talking and did not allow the pupil to enter into the classroom

activity. We were strongly urged to correct this fault and consume a minimum of time. It was not an easy matter to use any other method than the lecture method, for we were accustomed to this at the University and so habitually fell into the habit of using it in our own classes. During one week of visits the supervisor checked up the percentage of time occupied by the teacher, and the average was found to be about 3 to 2.

In one of the teachers' meetings the matter of questions came up. The supervisor gave some samples of good and bad questions which he had heard in some of the classes. The manner and form of questions was taken up and we were cautioned to use good English in the formation of questions. Leading questions were objected to.

At another of these teachers' meetings the question of discipline was discussed,—also whether the pupil should rise when reciting. Some of the students objected to the teacher's presence in the room during the whole class time. Others complained of their interruption of the lesson with some explanation or comment which the practice teacher had omitted. I never experienced much antagonism of this sort. The teacher did interrupt me a few times, but it was done in such a way that I always felt it was justified. I did know of one girl who was teaching English in the same school in which I taught and she became fairly exasperated at the continual interruptions of her teacher. I hope history teachers are never guilty of so gross a pedagogical error. As a rule, the practice teacher is more at ease with the pupils and does better work when the teacher is absent from the room, at least a part of the time. The teacher should follow the student's work rather closely, but not to such an extent that the work is jeopardized by too close watching. The pupils have more respect for the practice teacher if the regular teacher does not too often interfere with regular class work.

I was asked by the teacher under whom I was teaching to keep a record of the daily grades of the pupils. I made out all the examinations, but the teacher looked over them before I gave them and often made suggestions and changes. I graded these papers and all written work and also made out the grades which went on the report cards. This book of grades I turned over to the teacher at the close of my period of training.

After one of the written lessons I divided the class, at the teacher's suggestion, into an A and B section. I gave special attention to the B section and tried to make them feel under obligation to work harder and get into the A section after the next examination. This was a means of stirring up some enthusiasm through the agency of rivalry and contest and it helped to hold interest. Another valuable suggestion given me by the teacher was to correlate as nearly as I could present-day happenings and things within the experience of the child

with those events and experiences about which they were studying. She advised me to make them see as clearly as possible the debt we owe to ancient Greece and Rome and show the pupil what these countries have done to aid the progress of mankind. The professor under whom I had had this subject at the Ohio State University had an interesting collection of pictures and photographs which he very kindly loaned me. The children enjoyed looking at pictures of Greek heroes, of Greek buildings, paintings, and statues, and they liked to study the geography of the country from photographs taken in the regions of Greece and Italy.

Many times I would assign separate topics to the different students and they would give an oral report to the class upon that topic. In this way much outside material could be brought in that otherwise would have been neglected. The teacher would oftentimes suggest books to be used for this purpose. Once or twice I read from original sources to emphasize or explain some particular point.

If the material was such that an outline was necessary, then we would work this out in class and make comparisons. The outlines with review questions were handed in in notebooks and graded. In the case of governments in the Athenian Empire we used this outline method, tracing the changes made by Solon, Draco, Pisistratus, Clisthenes, and Pericles.

The dean of the College of Education paid me a visit just the day before my practice teaching ended. I remember we were discussing the Battle of Salamis and he told the class of his visit to the island across the bay by the same name. We had been debating whether it was a bay or an island and he ended the discussion by telling us that both existed.

As to the benefits I derived from my period of practice teaching, they were not exactly tangible or apparent. About the most important thing I gained was an idea of the variety in human nature. It also did acquaint me more thoroughly with child nature and showed me more plainly the workings of the child mind, in a rather general way, however. I received many valuable suggestions from supervisor and teacher, but many times I needed help and just floundered around until I stumbled onto some decision for myself. It was a case of having to solve your own problems to the best of your own ability. Perhaps that is best, for the teacher must sooner or later face these things and so the opportunity is given right in the beginning.

The system is in many ways helpful to the student, but does it do all that is claimed for it? The student teacher knows her subject and many of its technical points better than the supervisor, who cannot be equally efficient in all branches of the high-school curriculum. It is impossible for him to be well informed on all subjects and give the teacher advice and help and personal supervision. The student teacher

is not to be fooled, and the wise supervisor will withhold harsh or severe criticism unless he is very sure of his ground. How can a supervisor who has never had much experience in foreign language ably judge and advise a practice teacher to the best advantage in that subject? Can one who has made a specialty of mathematics and sciences be expected to criticize the work of a history teacher? You smile at such incongruities, and well you should, but they do exist. The student realizes many defects and shortcomings in her work, but there is an earnest attempt to correct these. The criticism of those supervising the teaching is always unsatisfactory, indefinite, and fails to provide a working basis for problems which are to be solved. The teacher must give them her thoughtful consideration, and oftentimes when prompt action is absolutely necessary she must rely on her own resources. The practice teacher must develop this spirit of independence. She will not have someone to supervise her work when her training period is over and so the habit must begin within that time. Self-confidence is one of the essential elements of future success. The teacher must almost instinctively sense the course to pursue and these weeks of training show her by example just what some of these lines are most often found.

One of the chief facts about some school rooms is that there is a sympathetic undercurrent of co-operation between teacher and pupil. The student teacher should strive to see that such a thing exists between her and the class she is teaching. I wanted to understand the viewpoint of my boys and girls and I know they felt that I was interested in them and so we tried to work together. I tried to make the child feel that he was helping himself and also his classmates in participating actively and in an interested way in all that went on in the classroom.

When my teaching was done I left with the feeling that I wanted more; that my work had just been started. I was anxious to have full charge of my own classes where I would be free to work out my own ideas, where my own originality and individuality might have wider range and freer activity.

THE USE OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

By FOREST I. BLANCHARD
Ohio State University

I wish to say in the very beginning of what can only be a brief paper that I will restrict myself to the field of secondary teaching, both the better to cover in outline one phase of history teaching and due to the fact that I am more familiar through experience with this division of instruction.

In order to explain more clearly the illustrative material that will be used in this paper, I will state what I think should be the aim in high-school history teaching.

We should bear in mind that the high-school course, or some portion of it, will be the capsheaf of the student's schooling, and from this point he will take up the duties of citizenship, and within a few years that of breadwinner for others than himself, and that his attainment of success will depend in no small part upon the information he secured in his history courses, especially if he really grasped the significance of the truths which history has to offer toward the solution of present-day problems.

Now this very aim is what has appealed to many history teachers as the difficult thing to accomplish. To make historical events more than a mere reiteration of facts and dates in the courses, to make them into usable material, requires that they be presented as records of living people struggling with each other and with nature. In this struggle, geographic factors have had their influence. It would be folly to attempt to explain all the actions of nations or peoples by the influence of geographic environment. This the geographer does not attempt to do, but he has shown that many of these struggles, many of the actions or movements of peoples, either peaceful or aggressive, have been the result, at least in part, of the influence of the geographic conditions under which they have lived. This exposition of environment has been more satisfactorily developed from the researches of the human geographer, whose field it is to show the relation of geography to the social sciences. From his material much may be used to elucidate historical facts for the secondary pupil.

In the majority of high schools the first course in history taken up by the pupil is the history of England. Now the development of England is made clearer, in all its stages, when its position, geographically, is explained. For the sake of brevity, in this paper, we will extend this territory to the British Isles, for the history of these islands

has been affected to a rather exceptional extent by geography; first, by their position on the globe; secondly, by their physical structure, and thirdly (in modern times), by their mineral products.

The presence of the Gulf Stream has given this territory a more favorable climate than its latitude would infer. A comparison with Labrador, which lies practically in the same latitude, will bring this out strikingly. The British Isles have a large, enterprising, and wealthy population; as a result, English history occupies a goodly portion of the world's history. Labrador, on the other hand, is poor, has only three lines of occupation (hunting, trapping, and fishing), has a scanty population, and its history does not occupy a page in that of the world.

London is in the same isothermal line with New York City (note these two largest cities on the same temperature line). The fact that the isolation of the British Isles had much to do with the development of their political, social, and institutional ideas, unhampered by invading forces, since the time of William the Norman, will help clarify English history to even the immature mind of the ninth-grader. Also the fact should be pointed out that England, although isolated through its being surrounded by water, was yet in such proximity to the continent that it could select as it chose from the best that its neighbors produced, both mentally and materially. That the physical structure of Britain had much to do with the history of the period of the Anglo-Saxon conquest can be pointed out. That this physical structure plus the influence of the mineral resources has much to do with the present-day division of England into provincial and industrial regions will help the student and the teacher in understanding the historical events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The juxtaposition of England with respect to the continent of Europe, her mineral resources, her climate, the surrounding open sea (all geographic factors) help to the understanding of her commercial development as a nation, and of her attainment of the position of leading commercial and colonial power in the last century and a half.

We must leave England and the British Isles at this point without having mentioned all the geographic influences bearing upon her history, for the lack of time. Time will not allow the history teacher to dwell at too great length upon these influences, for it is a history course that the teacher seeks to give. Amplification of these factors can properly be left to the courses in physical and commercial geography. It is not alone in the history of England that the march of historical events can be made clearer by the statement of geographical facts. The history of the Greek city states, their development, and their colonization is made clearer by the explanation of the separation of the Greek peninsula into small valleys and its relation to neigh-

boring islands and lands, which could be reached over seas not too wide for the primitive sailors.

The history of the expansion of Rome has a geographic setting, the stating of which would not displace much material ordinarily given to this period of history. The giving of these facts from time to time in their proper bearing helps to enliven and make clear what pupils often characterize as a dead period.

The explanation of the regional geography of western Europe, if only briefly given, will have its share in elucidating the long period of obscurity of peoples now the leaders in the annals of history.

France does not have so many outstanding geographical advantages as does England, nevertheless factors of this nature gave France an advantage over her neighbors. Her fertile soil, for instance, her position upon the globe (next to England the best in Europe), her coasts and harbors, her rivers, her protecting mountain frontiers to the south and southeast, all assisted her in becoming one of the "great powers."

It is in the transition period from the mediaeval to the modern era that geography has had its greatest exposition. Here geographic factors have had some place in the pages of our history texts and have occupied some time in the classroom discussion. Geographical discoveries have justly eclipsed the regional factors during this period. Geographical reasons for the discoveries, we might comment, have not had their sufficient explanation, the old trade routes and their cutting off have not been stressed as much as they might be for clarity, especially in view of the tremendous consequences obtaining.

Again shifting for the sake of brevity to the course in American History which usually comes in the last year of the high-school curriculum, we can make clearer its development if we introduce geographic influences.

The influence of the climate and soil of New England upon the Pilgrims cannot be neglected and is not altogether. In fact, the geographic influences upon the history of New England have been so important in agriculture, industry, and commerce as to raise its information to the dignity of a separate course in those leading American universities which developed departments of geography. The outstanding facts are not out of place in the secondary history course.

One thing that has been entirely neglected in the twelfth-grade course, which is explained in a few minutes, and which assists much in understanding why the English colonists ultimately triumphed, with the assistance of England, over the French colonists, aided by the French troops, is a geographic factor purely. The Appalachian chain formed an almost continuous barrier to the colonists, over which they did not, for a long time, flow, hence they gained solidity and unity from the absence of any cross barriers. The settlements were numer-

ous, close together, and thus they could more readily respond to a call to arms in large enough bodies to repel the raiding parties and armies of French and Indians. The French, on the other hand, finding no such barrier, scattered out in widely separated places, forming merely trading posts, with no definite development of fairly closely settled communities or colonies, and hence were in no position to repel sudden incursions of the English. So they found their territory invaded at several points by frontier colonists. Also they had great difficulty in defending their territory against definite armies. The final result of all this was that the English were able to defeat them and in order to protect the interests of these invading colonists, in part, determined to possess permanently the land of the French. Thus the nation having its colonists in this compact territory with the open sea behind them, with all its advantages, was able to oust the nation possessing the long, circuitous territory with the attending difficulty of defense.

Again passing over events that could be pointed out as having geographic bearing, we can note that our first expansion had a geographic basis. Not only was the Louisiana Purchase based on geographic influences, but also the Florida acquisition possessed some of these factors.

The threatened separation of the territory west of the Alleghenies into a separate nation was primarily a geographic movement. All of these are of sufficient importance to warrant pointing out in a high-school course in history.

The development of slavery in the South and the lack of its development in the North was due to geographic influences, hence the Civil War is not understood in its entirety unless geography is called to the aid of the historian.

The development of the early canals, and of different methods of transportation across the Alleghenies were attempts to overcome geographic difficulties. Also our transcontinental railways were built and aided by the Government for the very same reasons, which leads up to some of our financial history of that period.

Our present economic and commercial development is not at all explained unless the various geographic features of the United States are pointed out, also how these are so well knit together to form our economic unity.

We are admonished that we cannot spend too much time upon the geographic influences underlying history, for the history courses must be mainly made up of a record of events. However, a rational amount of time can be safely and profitably given to the geographic facts underlying history, as historical events cannot be clearly understood unless so based and supplemented.

The fields of history and geography overlap in the special phase of political geography in the main, and less in the subject of regional

and economic geography. Hence the mechanical aids to the history teacher are clearly indicated. A good set of maps showing the political divisions should be in the classroom. Maps showing the main physical features as well as the territorial outlines are yet more valuable and can be obtained for all the grand divisions, rather satisfactorily worked out. Outline maps to be filled in with various geographic facts and colored to show altitudes and depressions are often used, but could be used more extensively and could be made to show more features with profit to the student.

The time allotted to this paper is so brief, the value of geography in the teaching of history so great, and the scope of geography so extensive that the writer is conscious that the subject has not been sufficiently treated in this paper and that better points may possibly have been omitted. We can at least refer to a few books which treat more fully of this subject, or, if not directly bearing upon it, will develop the correct line of thought:

George—*The Relations of Geography and History*.

Redway—*The New Basis of Geography*.

Sutherland—*The Teaching of Geography*.

Freeman—*The Historical Geography of Europe*.

Biazeley—*Dawn of Modern Geography*.

Fairgrieve—*Geography and World Power*.

Trotter—*Lessons in the New Geography*.

Brunhes—*Human Geography*.

Salisbury, Barrows, and Tower—*Elements of Geography*.

Semple—*American History and Its Geographic Conditions*.

Brigham—*Geographic Influences in American History*.

Brigham—*Commercial Geography*.



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THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

The ninth annual meeting of the Ohio History Teachers' Association was held jointly with the annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, at Columbus, November 11 and 12. The meetings, except the joint luncheon, were held in the Archaeological Building at the University. The first meeting, Friday evening, was presided over by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, President of the Ohio Valley Historical Association. The program included the following papers:

Professor George A. Wood: "Celeron de Blainville and French Expansion in the Ohio Valley."

Professor C. E. Carter: "The Military Office in America, 1763-1775."

Miss Annette Walsh: "Early Anti-Slavery Newspapers in the Ohio Valley."

The second meeting was held Saturday morning under the auspices of the Ohio History Teachers' Association, the President of the Association, Mr. Samuel H. Ziegler, presiding. The following papers were read and discussed:

Miss Olive Bucks: "Experiments in Elementary School History."

Mr. C. B. Galbreath: "Materials for the Study of History in the Publications of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society."

Professor Beverly W. Bond, Jr.: "Some Problems of the History Teacher."

Professor Homer C. Hockett: "Some Experiments with College Flunkers."

The joint luncheon meeting was held at noon on Saturday, at the Chittenden Hotel. The two presidential addresses followed the luncheon, Professor Siebert's on "An Ohio Valley University in the War," and Mr. Ziegler's on "High School History Teaching versus College History Teaching." The business meeting of the Ohio History Teachers' Association resulted in the election of the following officers for the next year: President, Professor A. H. Hirsch, Ohio Wesleyan University; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor George A. Washburne, Ohio State University; Members of the Executive Committee, Miss Olive Bucks, Cleveland; Miss Grace A. Todd, Akron; Mr. J. B. Hughes, Lodi.

HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY TEACHING VERSUS COLLEGE HISTORY TEACHING

(Presidential Address, Ohio History Teachers' Association.)

By SAMUEL H. ZIEGLER

East High School, Cleveland

The subject I wish to discuss today, "The High School History Teaching versus the College History Teaching," implies that the one type of history teaching is considered as being in opposition to the other type. The further implication of the title, that the incorruptible and high-minded gentlemen of the jury must be called upon to award the verdict to the one or to the other, is not to be drawn. Rather let us, at this friendly meeting, see whether we cannot abolish the "devil's lane" that has grown up between our two fields, and, if we cannot throw down the fence and turn it into one great field, at least attempt to respect each other's rights on our respective grazing grounds. The work of each group has its distinctive and socially useful function. When the college history teacher and the high school history teacher come into contact, or collision, they find themselves in the predicament of the two colored brothers. Rastus had been to the grocery store and was not quite satisfied with the bill. He therefore consulted Sambo—"Sambo, please tell me how much 12½ pounds of herring cost at 6¼ cents a pound."

"Twelve and a half pounds at 6¼ cents a pound? Let me see—12½ pounds at 6¼ cents a pound"—ensues five minutes of intensive thought. "Rastus, did you say 6¼ cents a pound?" "Yes, 12½ pounds of herring at 6¼ cents a pound." "O shucks," says Sambo; "I was figuring on codfish." So the high-school teacher may be teaching herring history, while all the time the college teacher is figuring in terms of codfish.

The high-school teachers have for years been clearing and defining their field. In this task they have been aided by the point of view of many eminent historians. Gradually we have made a place for ourselves, as we think, in the domain of public and tax-supported education. More years ago than I care to remember, when I began the study of history in the public schools, the aim seemed to be to instill into the public a kind of non-critical patriotism—"My country, right or wrong." It was the same kind of patriotism learned by the Greek boys who were required to acquire the traditions of their race by repeating the songs of Homer and Hesiod, and by committing to memory the names of the three hundred Spartans who perished at Thermopylae. With the pupil of that day the history of the world began with the voyage of Columbus and ended with the administration

of Rutherford B. Hayes. Our history texts were based upon Bancroft and Prescott, and we accepted "the British" as our great traditional foe.

But gradually the atmosphere cleared. We came to realize that history had many lessons for the citizen of a great democracy. We saw that Buckle was speaking to us when he said that "The real history of the human race is the history of tendencies which are perceived by the mind, and not of events which are discovered by the senses;" and that Lord Acton, when he insisted that "Historical facts should not be a burden to the memory, but an illumination of the soul," was describing history as the public-school pupil should be led to consider it. Seeley summed up the situation in these words, "but history ought surely in some degree, if it is worth anything, to anticipate the lessons of time. We shall no doubt be wise after the event; we study history that we may be wise before the event."

The high-school teacher of today, therefore, takes the position that the scholarly and critical aspects of history must be subordinated to its social function. The Committee on the Reorganization of the Secondary School Studies expresses the present aim in these words (Bulletin Number 28, 1916), "The Social studies should contribute to the aim of social efficiency through the development of an appreciation of the nature and laws of social life, a sense of responsibility of the individual as a member of social groups, and the intelligence and will to participate effectively in the promotion of social well-being." More specifically, in the same bulletin, we read that "The social studies of the American high school should have for their constant and conscious purpose the cultivation of good citizenship. The good citizen . . . will be characterized . . . by a loyalty and a sense of obligation to his city, state, and nation as political units. . . . The social studies should also cultivate a sense of membership in the world community. High national ideals and an intelligent and genuine loyalty to them should be the specific aim of the social studies in the American high school."

Having this distinctive purpose in mind, the material and method of history and history teaching must be organized so as to attain this purpose. Some fields of history are more useful to the high-school teacher than others. Therefore, in organizing our work, we emphasize those fields. Some methods are more effective in getting across the idea of citizenship, hence these methods are employed. The teachers of history in the high schools are therefore eager to perfect themselves in the technique of their task. The selection of material is not governed by its importance to the research student in history, but rather by its usefulness for the accomplishment of the aims just indicated. In ancient history the significant things are not necessarily the latest discoveries of the excavator, but the connection of these discoveries with the problems of today. The hundred years of Roman history between the fall of Carthage and the assassination of Caesar are more important than the exact length, width, and depth of the

Rhine at the place where Caesar built that bridge which so many of us have since crossed on horseback. The political turmoil in Athens after the battle of the Arginusae Islands has a far more important message for the high-school pupil than the military maneuvers preceding the battle of Marathon. The fate of the chantry schools in England means much more than the names and fates of the six wives of Henry VIII. In American history the digging of the Erie Canal means much more, especially to the northern Ohio pupil, than the explorations of Coronado.

Let me look over the fence into the college teacher's field for a minute. Some months ago I had the rare privilege of several hours' talk with Dr. Melvin of the University of Kansas. He told me of his researches into Mississippi Valley history made in the archives of the French Government. The tale was fascinating, and when it was over, I wondered what the high-school teacher of history could do with this material. My conclusion was, that he could do little. During the past summer I took some work with Dr. Sioussat on the period between the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution. My researches covered many volumes of state and national documents. My information in this field was considerably broadened. But for the high-school teacher, there was little. Although I have never taught history in a college, yet my observation leads me to conclude that the ideal and aim of the college teacher is the search for the truth. Delving into the musty and dusty archives, impairing his health and nerves deciphering the crabbed letters and documents, satisfied that months of trying work are well spent in clearing up some obscure point, the college teacher proceeds with his task.

This work is significant and important. It must be done, and done effectively. Any contribution to the great mass of proven and established truth is worth all the effort bestowed upon it. When Cobden, at the opening of the Manchester Athenaeum, criticized the Oxford and Cambridge professors, his criticisms were not quite fair to a hard-working group of scholarly gentlemen. You remember that he described his disappointment at beholding the Ilius River—a muddy, narrow stream in which the women were washing clothes. He declared that the professors would spend hours in working over the details of the river, its course, length, width, sources, etc., while other rivers, as the Mississippi, were neglected or despised by them. Yet that patient scholarship which is willing to disregard time in the presence of a new inscription or to write learned treatises over the nature of some corroded bit of metal, is to be esteemed and encouraged. But this cannot be done by the high-school teacher, weighted with the responsibility of the future welfare of the republic and the attitude that its citizens will assume towards its problems. Therefore, while we welcome you into our field, we cannot take the time of our pupils to cultivate yours very extensively.

What, then, of the "devil's lane"? It is really a triumph for the high-school teacher that in many parts of the country this lane has

vanished. Thirty years ago when we wanted to enter our boys and girls in college, history formed one of the sources of irritation. If we did what we thought we should do for them, the college would not admit them. If we did what the colleges wanted, we violated our own sense of professional integrity. But more and more the colleges came over to our point of view. The high-school teacher either became the college teacher, or accepted gladly the leadership of those college teachers who accepted the social point of view. In our great schools of education, researches and experiments in the field of method were conducted under the guidance of enlightened college leaders, and we, the high-school people, are learning more and more to profit by the results of these studies. There are, unfortunately some Brahmins or Bourbons in both groups. Many college men passed directly from the undergraduate school to the graduate school where, under the leadership and inspiration of some eminent historian, they became so permeated with the college point of view, that they viewed the work of the high-school teacher with some degree of intolerance. They were thinking in terms of codfish. On the other hand, many high-school teachers use history as mere propaganda material to put over some pet social or economic theory. Can we not see that both of these points of view are wrong? The "devil's lane" has vanished as far as hundreds of our colleges and state universities are concerned. But some of the more exclusive, especially of the eastern schools, continue to cherish the barrier for various reasons. Let us try to see the importance of each field, respect the workers in each, and enter a *nolle pros.* for the case.

EXPERIMENTS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL HISTORY

By OLIVE BUCKS
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What a whirl of conflicting currents the varied programs of history in elementary schools present. And now two national committees are battling fiercely as in an undertow, at least so it seems from the point of view of one of the committees. In the meantime, the patient elementary school teacher works as best she may, first with one program and then with another. Perhaps the only time of actual irritation comes when she is given a program which has not been thoroughly tested by actual teaching.

What should an elementary school teacher be conscious of in teaching a history program? Shall she know that history is not the past, but a record of the past, sometimes faulty and liable to correction? Shall she clearly differentiate the aims of instruction between a senior high-school program, or even a junior high one and the elementary grades, thus avoiding an adult point of view too early? Shall she be conscious that the elementary grade pupil has a very limited experience in life, and yet historical instruction to be made real must touch that experience?

How many teachers in elementary schools know that an opinion statement depends for its value upon the facts presented, a fact statement upon its record? Isn't all clear thinking based upon this distinction? A simple exercise testing this sense of evidence was given to two groups. One group was made up of high-school graduates preparing to teach in the elementary grades, the other group was of elementary school teachers of some experience. The test was this:

In a history printed in 1906 we are told that the Declaration of Independence declared all men created free and equal. Is this statement correct?

To be really certain

1. I would ask.....
2. I would write.....
3. I would read.....

Fill out the statement which seems to you to indicate the best way to be really certain.

A variety of answers were given, from the correct one which realized that this was a fact statement and dependent for its accuracy upon the record itself, to the answer, "I would read the Bible," interpreting it as a moral or opinion statement. In the class of thirty-nine high-school graduates, twelve gave the correct answer, and out of the twenty-seven wrong answers, four took the moral issue, one said she would ask for the authority or source, two could not answer, one would read a history at the time of the Declaration of Independence, several

would read other histories, and three would write to the author of the text and ask him if the Declaration really said that. In a class of thirty-seven experienced teachers, twenty-seven answered correctly, one said she would read the Constitution, one would read Lincoln's Gettysburg address, another would read the history of 1906, and still another would read general histories on the kind of men who made our country. These are merely straws showing the lack of clear differentiation and understanding of what history is, and how it is obtained. If the teachers are so muddled the pupils certainly will be.

How early in elementary school would the raising of this question of evidence be possible? Let me ask you a simple question illustrating this: Are you perfectly sure there were Indians in Ohio at one time? Perhaps you have never tried such a simple question with children, but if you have you may have seen the glow of certainty that comes to their faces when one youngster proudly remarks, "I have seen an arrow-head." In a simple way this question is perfectly possible as soon as the program labeled history is begun. A child soon sees that the way we learn is to see, or to be told by some one who has seen, or to read what has been seen. Just how far a critical analysis may be carried, depends upon the previous work. In a class of fifth-grade pupils studying the American Revolution, they were told that according to the records of the time Paul Revere had been sent on his midnight ride of April 18th, and he had reached Lexington in safety, but had been captured on his way to Concord. Then they read the poem on Paul Revere, enjoyed its thrill and vividness, but noted that a poet is not limited to the exact truth. Would the Pocahontas story, and the George Washington cherry tree story lose their value as American legends if their source was explained to pupils? Much depends, however, on the method of presentation, and the point of view of the teacher. Hasn't elementary school history been non-historical quite long enough? The bigger value to be considered, of course, is in the habit of clear thinking of the pupil. How many gossipy neighborhoods might be saved from scandal and even divorce courts by the application of the simple question, how do you know? How many political campaign issues would be less gaseous in nature if young Americans would demand something beside unsupported opinions? What subject beside history in the elementary school curriculum raises this question?

The difference between the teaching of history in the elementary school and the high schools is one of method rather than content. The elementary school program should have quite as rich and varied a content as the other programs. The method should present concretely the facts which seem most adaptable to the interests and understanding of the pupils. How important in the process of learning is it to touch the actual experience of the pupil? Let me teach you a new word: Hippocycles, a mythical animal, of course. The mere mention of the name teaches you nothing. But I tell you it has a shape like an hippopotamus, is the size of a lizard, and has but one eye. It

does sound mythical in truth and yet by your various experiences you have some sort of content for the term. Now let us turn to a fifth grade which has had history for a year and a half, and whose teachers have been unusually fine ones. Let us take an experiment carried out by a student of psychology as to the content which they give to such words and phrases as:

(1) Declaration of Independence, (2) the Revolution, (3) a patriot, (4) a treaty of peace, (5) Congress. Eleven out of forty-five pupils gave approximately the correct answer as to what the Declaration of Independence was. Many thought it a sign of peace, one thought the king signed peace, some merely thought it a paper; one thought it a special day, and six did not know. In answer to the second question: What was the Revolution, twenty-nine gave correct answers, several thought it a battle. The question of a patriot was correctly answered by twenty-seven, three did not know, one thought him a true man, one thought him a member of a town, another thought it meant "a truely man or woman who stands and fights to the bitter end." The fourth question on meaning of treaty of peace, eighteen were correct, fourteen were not clear, three did not know. The question as to the meaning of Congress showed the greatest variation of all. Only ten gave correct answers, eleven were not clear, and fourteen did not know. All of these terms are used more or less generally by elementary school teachers, and other common historical phrases, as, what is a nation, a government, the word freedom, etc., are used freely as if the content were quite clear in the pupil's mind.

Let us suggest a few rules for our elementary school program, and then study their application in actual classroom lessons. (1) It shall be history if so labeled, otherwise if a legend, it shall be so called; (2) it shall build upon the pupil's experiences and give him activities to enrich and expand his personal experiences; (3) it shall disclose a fundamental truth of history as being that of development, or as one teacher so aptly puts it: "Nothing either was or is, everything either was or is in a continuous process of becoming;" (4) by being truthful it shall develop some sense of how we know, and some ability to understand the world we actually have about us, not a fanciful world of an idealized America.

A formal program should begin then in the community, for here a pupil's experience is centered, and he can be made most conscious of changes in a location familiar to him. Let us begin by pointing to changes now going on, as a street being paved, a new building being erected, telephone wires being placed underground, a sign for sale, a moving van, etc. Then erase all the present conditions in the locality, and replace the forest trees, or meadows, invite back the wolves, foxes, long snakes, wild fowl, turkeys, mosquitos, and all sorts of bugs. Imagine a busy downtown street as the scene of an attack on a horse-back rider by a pack of wolves, or replace a fashionable apartment house section with a smiling meadow and grazing buffalo. Let the Indian be the only man here, and study something of his problems.

How will he make a fire with no matches? How will he build a canoe with no nails nor hammer? How will he chop his wood with a stone ax? And remember all of this time, that these Indians are not living in the sunny South, but right here in Ohio, with its snow and ice, and cold, bitter winds. The accomplishments of prehistoric man are not to be taken too lightly. What did these Indians think when they saw some large animals, something like the buffalo in shape, come crashing through their trail pulling a big awkward looking affair on heavy wheels, driven by men whiter than the Indians, though often so sun-burned there was not such a great difference in color. Or perhaps the first settlers came in flatboats. Probably the Indian of Ohio had heard of the white man and recognized him at once, but how dramatic must have been that first entry. If the community has preserved the names of these earliest explorers, then present the tale as it is recorded. A single play called the "Coming of the White Man," brings out the necessary details for the picture, and the children enjoy working out just what the white man could take on such a journey and just how he could talk to the Indian by sign language. One boy in fourth grade became rather expert in getting an idea over to the class by sign language—a nice, freckle-faced, red-haired youngster who was so interested that not even a rather large group of observers could make him self-conscious.

Such introductory work has been tried in two second grade classes, and one fourth grade. One second grade was in a small Illinois town. Many of the pupils were direct descendants of these early pioneers. Their interest became quite real, and they scoured the attic for old pictures, and relics. I believe in a small town, mainly of American born people, the second grade is not too early for such a study if properly presented. The same introduction was used in Cleveland in a school made up mainly of foreigners. The presentation was carried on in part by students in the School of Education in order to give it the hardest test possible in the hands of inexperienced teachers. A general conclusion was reached that the second grade was too early for such a presentation in a school consisting mainly of foreign children. The material has been tried two or three times with a fourth grade in this same school, and an equal enthusiasm and interest was created as in the second grade in the smaller community. Each community must determine its own grade for entering upon a history program. Perhaps some preliminary work semihistorical might be presented previously to the formal program, such as a general study of homes, the pupil's own and its relationships to the community, homes of different nations today in contrast to their own, homes of primitive peoples, and concluding with some vigorous hero tales, so selected as to emphasize not only the ancient heroes of brawn, and nerve, but modern heroes of service.

After the introductory study on the Making of a Community, the question naturally follows, concerning the Making of the United States. Here the matter of selection and emphasis at once presents

itself. In order to allow for time to make the past real, types of experiences must be carefully selected, then similar experiences may be cited, and with these vivid types in mind the pupil has clear concepts. Take, for example, the complicated period of exploration in America. There are two main types of experiences, that on land and that on sea. The boats of the early explorers did not change much from the time of Columbus to the time of Drake. If the experiences of carrying fresh water, cooking of food, size of boats, kinds of sails, crudeness of compass, and astrolabe be made real for one experience, it will give vividness to all other trips. A land trip may include the experiences in the woods, the marsh, and deserts or plains. The study of the practical difficulties of carrying provisions, shooting game, fishing, or building a camp, making a map of the trip, etc., are so similar that a mere consideration of the locality only is necessary after the type of experiences are clear. Such a set of books as *Chronicles of America*, edited by Allen Johnson, published by Yale Press, Ontario, 1918, has succeeded in making history interesting because it has given a vividness to just such experiences.

Pioneer settlement problems are the same whether in the woods on the Atlantic coast, or in the central Mississippi Valley. To what extent can a pupil really appreciate the situation in pioneer life? One of the most interesting ways of getting such reality was carried through by a fifth-grade teacher with the aid of the Manual Training instructor. Each pupil had a small wooden platform ten by eight and one-half inches. On this he constructed any small scene of western pioneer experience that he wished to show. There were oxcarts, pack horses, a woman on horseback with a baby in her arms, sheep, cattle, even flocks of geese, men with guns, a line of canal boats, and the first railroad train. There were the green hills of the east, forest trees, and an Indian tepee with a papoose in its basket swinging from the branch of a tree. The pioneer settlements were quite complete with the log houses, the church, the school house, a well with a bucket hanging from its sweep, a woman spinning, a baby in a crib, a man pounding corn, and a fort with its palisade. Lastly there were the snow-capped Rocky Mountains, the buffaloes, a hunter with a deer across his shoulders, wild turkeys and deers, Indians scouting in the woods. How much formal review do you think was necessary after this work was complete? Why not use some of the other subjects in the curriculum and enrich their content as well as expanding the time to produce reality in history? Did the pupils enjoy it? One overgrown boy stopped the instructor on the street one day and asked if this sort of history was to be taught in the summer, because if it were, he thought he would come. This sort of work isn't all that is necessary to reproduce reality, but such an activity helps much in slowing up the thinking of the class, and gives an opportunity for the study of details, upon which reality is based.

It is so easy to say "make the past real," and surely if anywhere, the elementary school is the proper place for such an aim, but have you

ever really tried to do so? Take an historical period, and crumble it into its elements or phenomena and see just what there is in it to make real. There are human beings, individuals and in groups. There is the physical environment of these human beings, the natural which they must utilize, and the artificial which they have created. There are words and actions of human beings, and there are thoughts, feelings, and resolutions. Professor Henry Johnson of Teachers' College, Columbia University, has helped us to analyze and make real these phenomena. Let us take for example the simplest of all elements, a physical human being. Which historical character would you most readily recognize on the street—Lincoln, perhaps? How tall was Lincoln? How tall is six feet four inches—about eight inches taller than I, or if there is a pupil in the class about five feet tall, Lincoln was as much taller than I as I am taller than that pupil. What color of eyes, or shape of face or nose did Columbus have? His son, Ferdinand, tells us, Columbus "was tall, well-formed, muscular, and of an elevated and dignified demeanor. His visage was long, and neither full nor meagre; his complexion fair and freckled, and inclined to ruddy; his nose aquiline; his cheek bones were rather high, his eyes light gray, and apt to enkindle; his whole countenance had an air of authority. His hair, in youthful days was of light color; but care and trouble soon turned it gray, and at thirty years of age it was quite white." Notice the faces about you, which ones are long, neither full nor meagre—what is a ruddy complexion, etc.? Gradually the mental picture becomes real and then the use of pictures of these great men, taken at various times of their life, and the great names become living men.

Or let us take a bit of environment and make it real.

How may a log house be reproduced? How does it compare in size to the schoolroom? Contrast the fireplace in the log house with the convenient gas stove in the kitchen of the pupil's home. Make clear the convenience of turning on the water in the kitchen sink in comparison to the pump or well for water, sometimes wetting the edge of one's coat sleeve, and having it chap the wrists.

How did Patrick Henry pronounce his words in his famous House of Burgess speech? This is one of the few famous speeches of which we have vivid descriptions. What was the tone of voice of Webster that it was called the deep tones of an organ? Just how was Webster dressed, and how did his dark face, and sleepy brown eyes change when he defended the rights of the Constitution?

If the elementary school program is so rich as to include the European background of American History, the problem of feeling such an environment as the early Greek world, presents a much more difficult problem. First of all the two elements of time and place must be made clear. How important to a fact in history, are these elements? Supposing we say Roosevelt was one of the finest generals in the Roman Empire in the sixteenth century, or Foch was a leading merchant in Chicago in the fourth century. By the wrong or inac-

curate use of these two elements, the fact becomes untrue. In a sixth-grade class the element of place in a study of the Greek world was first made real by a pointing exercise with Mercator Projection Map finding the direction that Greece is from Cleveland, and then by an imaginary trip the distance was felt through realizing how one would travel to reach Greece from Cleveland and how long such a trip would take. The element of time is much more difficult. Most of us only feel early Greece as having existed a long time ago, but with these pupils some attempt was made to put more reality into this feeling. The class had previously reproduced Cleveland in its primitive condition, a hundred and twenty-five years ago, and this had been made especially vivid through the recent celebration. Then it was not so difficult to think of all of America in this primitive condition. But gradually we sailed away from America until it became an unknown land. England lost its modern appearance since it was scarcely known to Greece. We sailed around in the Greek world in the small Greek boats; we took a three weeks' trip into the Black Sea, a week's trip to see the wonders of Egypt, and even two or three weeks' trip to far away Spain. But here other subjects in the elementary school program came to the rescue of the History. In literature the pupils studied Homer's Iliad and in composition work they produced a charming Greek play. In their art work they studied pictures of Greek vases and found out the sort of costumes, and swords and shields the Greeks had. There was almost a solemn reverence in the production of the little play as the pupils gave it.

Mr. Haynes, head of the playgrounds under the Cleveland Foundation, says that little or no part of the school activities carries over into the playground. Perhaps you say frankly it need not. But if we accept the definition of school life not as a preparation for living, but life itself, why should school and its burdens be put into one part of the life of the pupil, and play with its joy into another? How about a child before he enters school? Does he separate his helping of mother from his play or isn't it all a part of the play spirit? What are the elements of the play spirit? There is interest, enthusiasm, imagination, and activity. Perhaps if we taught adults that work and play should not always be so far apart we would have fewer round pegs in square holes. History of all elementary school subjects demands the use of the play spirit.

Some late programs for the elementary school emphasize the teaching of citizenship as a separate subject. This tendency is a natural one after such a terrible war as we have just passed through. Citizenship is a worthy aim, but let us have an intelligent patriotism. Civics in the elementary school should be a study of the gradual development of the ideas of government based upon the social and economic needs. In the study of the history of the community, the various expanding needs of the locality will show the natural source and uses of our local government, and this phase should not be neglected during that study. The development of state and national governments is most

clearly understood after the problems of the American Revolution. After the study of European Background or the world before 1607, is perhaps the best place for a sweeping review of the growth of the fundamentals of government. Then let the activities of self-government be used in the junior high schools, and the formal study of the principles of government be studied in the senior high schools. Perhaps some day Ohio cities will follow the suggestion of the city of Glen Rock, New Jersey, and establish a Junior City Council made up of representatives both boys and girls from the ages of sixteen to twenty-one, and permit them to function in the actual city government.

I am sure the first criticism of the entire plan of this paper will be the ancient cry, "But we haven't time." Did you happen to see the cartoon in the Chicago Tribune last summer called the Nine Thoughts of Mankind? Surely, Mankind has more than nine thoughts. The purpose of the cartoon was to select the nine main tendencies in humanity's thoughts and give them concrete illustration. Why not do the same with the elementary school history program? Select types and make them concrete by all sorts of activities. Good clear thinking takes time to develop. Let us first of all take a stand for historical history, and then touch the pupil's experiences, leaving not a mass of facts, but a concept of vitality which will explain why the world is what it is, and how we may make it better.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE HISTORY TEACHER

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The purpose of this paper is to suggest certain important and pressing problems of the history teacher. The hysteria, the wild searching for new ideas, for new ways of doing things, which is so characteristic of this Twentieth Century of ours has well-nigh submerged those faithful servants of the taxpaper, the teachers, in a veritable deluge of proposed innovations and consequent problems. Without essaying the rather difficult role of a modern Noah to save my confreres from the flood of methods and psychological values that threatens to engulf all of us, I may at least attempt to point out a few of the sources of danger in the present-day history course. Assuming also the prerogative of a university professor, I make no claims to either an inclusive or a logical treatment of my subject. My sole excuse for these few suggestions is that many of these problems affect the university as well as the high school, for the educational expert has by no means confined his tinkering to the latter. Also, the university bases, or certainly should base its work upon that of the high school. Whatever affects the latter is certainly felt by the former. Consequently the university professor is vitally interested in well balanced and thorough history courses in the high school.

The first problem I wish to consider is that of Modernism. This term I would define as the generally heedless disregard either for the lessons from the past or for traditions, that is a striking characteristic of the Twentieth Century. The up-to-date parson, the social worker, and the society leader would scrap the pulpit in favor of an ethical discourse or a movie lesson in uplift. Or else they would substitute for old-fashioned standards, no conventions at all and very few clothes. In similar fashion the very progressive teacher (notably the one of immature experience) would substitute almost entirely for the careful study of the past, Recent American and Contemporary European History, with perhaps a course in Current Events thrown in for good measure. On the other hand, the history teacher of the Victorian era of gathered skirts and tidies, considers the present as barely worthy of serious attention.

Between these two extremes, the point of view of the callow youth and that of the superannuate, lies the happy medium which should constitute the true solution for most of our pedagogical problems. Despite dangers of personal prejudice, and lack of perspective, the intense crowded life of the Twentieth Century cannot be ignored. Our courses fall flat if we fail to notice the development of the trust, the labor and the tariff problems, the evolution of the United States

as a world power, the Great War, the rise of the Soviet, and a host of kindred movements. But there is a serious difficulty. These varied subjects require time for their adequate presentation, nor can they be properly understood except after a careful study of the past. Here then comes the great problem presented by Modernism; so to preserve a careful balance that past development shall be thoroughly understood, and that at the same time, the present shall become clear and vivid to the student. A careful and balanced working out of this compromise in its details presents one of the most vexatious problems of the history teacher, both in the university and the high school.

The second problem, Materialism, is the product of an age that has adopted for its own a crass practical standpoint in place of the old ideals of a classical and intellectual education. Perforce the history teacher must labor to prove his own *raison d'etre*, formulating practical aims, and showing the positive value of his work. But the things of the spirit cannot be reduced to exact formulas, and this wave of materialism threatens to engulf the finest, the most intellectual qualities of the history teacher, and consequently of his work. Imagination, purely intellectual enjoyment, cannot be reduced to hard matter of fact statements of value. Careful and exact pedagogy, the discriminate weighing of words, is certainly not to be deprecated. Yet neither must the wings of genius be clipped. The lights and shades of history must not be sacrificed for a mediocre grubbing. Themes such as the glowing pictures of Renaissance life, the French Revolution with its clashes of primeval passion, the cold, calculating mind of a Napoleon, and his dazzling career, the intrepid career of Daniel Boone, the steadfast heroism of Lincoln, should create an intellectual delight in history, and not merely achieve certain practical aims. Here again the history teacher must work for a rational balance which recognizes the materialism of the age, and yet preserves the imagination and intellectual enjoyment that should be the valued possession of every educated man or woman.

The third, and certainly one of the most pestiferous of the problems that afflict the history teacher is the plague of fads. The rather intensive cultivation of fads in the history course at present seems to have two sources; the personal aggrandizement of the promoter of a new idea, and a genuine desire to help. So closely are these two motives intertwined that it is frequently impossible to separate them. In any case the faddist usually secures an enthusiastic if blinded following, until many of our schools, and the history course in particular, have been converted into educational experiment stations.

The most insidious work of the faddist is in the realm of methods. Every now and then some pedagogical Columbus (and his number is legion) loudly proclaims to the educational world the discovery of the one sure method to teach history. We have been told that the text-

book is antiquated and must be discarded, that history must be taught from the sources alone. Another would-be genius assures us that the only possible system to secure results is to read a large number of books, omitting the thread of the outworn text. Other faddists advocate the geographical method, while still others solemnly uphold the great efficacy of the magic lantern road to historical lore. Worst of all, the educational expert devotes so much time to the study of methods and values that the bewildered teacher has no time to work up the old-fashioned background that was usually considered the *sine qua non* of successful teaching. Probably less dangerous, because their proposals are more radical, are the fads for specialized history. According to this viewpoint occupational history is all-important. Thus, the manual training student must be taught the history of the mechanical arts, the girl specializing in domestic science must learn the history of the sewing machine and of cooking, the farmer's boy the development of agriculture. That is, each occupation should have a nice little historical compartment of its own, even at the expense of the development of the whole. Closely allied to this fad for occupational history is the plea for state history in the schools, and lately with Mr. Wells and his history, the universities especially have suffered from a demand for universal history of a so-called inspirational if not very accurate type.

As a matter of fact each one of these fads is founded upon at least a germ of truth. But their promoters lack a balanced perspective. Although the osteopath is exceedingly useful for a sprained ankle, in a case of stomach-ache his value is rather questionable. In like fashion each one of the fads that have been mentioned is useful if kept in its peculiar place, but no one of them constitutes a panacea for all the ills of the history course. The geographical background, sources, and even pictures have their legitimate place, and pedagogical methods cannot be neglected. Moreover, it is certainly advisable in a technical school to stress the Industrial Revolution. Turnip Townshend and the McCormick reaper will attract students in an agricultural school. Likewise, Ohio students will be intensely interested in the story of *La Belle Riviere*. Whether or not Universal History possesses intrinsic merit will be determined perhaps when the plentiful editions of Mr. Wells's book have been exhausted. That is, the craze for fads brings the teacher again face to face with the problem of a sensible compromise.

Still another difficult problem is the proper differentiation between the university and the high school courses in history. Numerous syllabi are being turned out in Ancient, in Medieval, and Modern European, and in American History. Usually these outlines are very suggestive and quite valuable. Yet the greater number of them suffer from a defect that is readily explained by their origin, prepared as they often are, by university professors for the edification of their confreres in the high schools. Almost invariably they bear a remark-

able resemblance in their analyses to the general courses that are offered in the freshman and sophomore years of the university or college. Even the references have a familiar appearance. For instance, in the American History course, the composers of these syllabi trot forth the American Nation Series, the American Statesmen and the American Crises Series of biographies, Winsor's Narrative and Critical History, and other staid and respectable standbys of the university library. If these reference lists are actually followed, the logical conclusion is that either the university course in American History is not of a sufficiently advanced nature, or else the high school does not respect the comparative immaturity of its students. I am inclined to adopt the latter conclusion. Too often the high school attempts, with lamentable results, a course that is far beyond the grasp of the average boy and girl. Therefore the differentiation of the high school and the university courses in history constitutes an exceedingly vital problem, of which the solution must depend upon the intelligent co-operation of university professors and high-school teachers.

The last problem I wish to consider really includes the others, and is that of the high-school courses in history. This problem is one of vital importance to the high school and also to the university, for the work of the latter must depend upon that of the former. The usual practice up to the last few years has been to base the history curriculum in the high school upon the familiar four-block system, recommended in the Report of the Committee of Seven in 1899, and including:

A year's work in Ancient History to 800, 814, or 843.

A second year in Medieval and Modern European History.

A third year in English History.

A fourth year in American History and Civil Government.

Although this four-year course was an immense improvement over the one year in General History which it displaced, experience has shown that it has serious defects. Under the most favorable conditions, the high-school course in history is usually limited to three years, and English History has customarily been cut out. Much more serious in its effects is the widespread practice to require a minimum of one or at most two years' work in history. In the former case, the requirement has been customarily fulfilled by the Ancient History or perhaps the American History course, and in the latter by both. In either case European History is slighted. This situation is all the more deplorable in view of the very common tendency to elect Ancient History, the most difficult, the least interesting, and the least important of all the history courses. Commonly the result, especially in view of the lack of qualified teachers, has been that the dull Ancient History course has stifled all further election of history. This situation I can confirm by actual experience in Indiana where only one unit in history is required.

With the outbreak of the Great War, it became very clear that the high school must give a more thorough course in European affairs, and must therefore give more time to Modern European History. A pioneer in recognizing this need was the Indiana History Teachers' Section. In the spring of 1916 this association appointed a committee for the revision of the history course in the high school. Their report a year later was adopted by the State Board of Education, as the basis for the high-school course in History. Essentially the report provided for (see History Teachers' Magazine, April, 1917, p. 1350)

The first year's work in Ancient and European History

(Medieval and part of Modern) to 1648.

The second year, in Modern European History since 1648.

The third year, in American History and Civics.

Additional recommendations were to the effect that the first half shall be devoted to American History up to 1876, and the second half to Recent American History and Civics; also that social and economic history shall be given as much stress as political.

The chief innovation in this report is the rather swift survey of Ancient and Medieval and Modern European History up to 1648, thus preparing the way for a really adequate presentation of Modern European History. This change is founded upon sound principles. The program preserves the necessary background of the past, but reserves the main emphasis for the more important Modern European History. Indeed, some such arrangement is necessary in view of the changed viewpoint as a result of the World War. It is rather interesting to note that the recent report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship, recommends a program that is essentially similar to the one that has been adopted in Indiana. (See the Historical Outlook, March-June, 1921.)

These changes, actual and proposed, clearly illustrate the need to recast the history program in order to meet contemporary demands. If history is to be really a vital course, it cannot be static, but must adapt itself to the times. Changes must be made in the curriculum, and also in the contents of courses and in the pedagogical methods employed. In planning these changes, the history teacher inevitably faces the different problems that have been suggested—Modernism, Materialism, Fads, the University vs. the High Schools; these are all questions that compel attention when the most important of all our problems, that of the History curriculum, is to be considered. The ideal principle in each instance is to preserve the balance between the radical and the conservative point of view, remembering always that the educational world must retain its leadership, and must never sacrifice a sane balance for blind vicarious whims.

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE OHIO ARCHAEOLOGI- CAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By C. B. GALBREATH, SECRETARY

Columbus

I am tempted to preface this brief paper with a few observations not directly applicable to the subject assigned. Without intending at all to be critical, I think it may be truthfully said that Ohio has never appreciated the importance of collecting, preserving, and making available for use the sources of its own incomparable history. A short time ago a professor from one of the universities of the West was referred from the State House to this building for information in regard to sources of Ohio history to be found in Columbus. Like other serious students who come from outside of our state on such a mission, he marveled that the early state papers, documents, and letters of Ohio's eminent men were not available in satisfactory collections here. He declared that of all the states west of the Allegheny Mountains none had made more history than Ohio, and none had done less to preserve the source records of this history. This is not a flattering commentary and it is the more unwelcome because it contains a large element of truth.

As a result of the state's indifference in the past it will be necessary for our Society to go to other libraries in the state and outside of it for copies of documents and extracts from newspaper files in order to render the service that the public has a right to expect.

Recently the State Historical Society of Minnesota published in a small pamphlet a general statement of its resources. Among other things it conveyed the information that the Society has a file of every newspaper that has been published in that state. Minnesota was admitted in 1858. The state therefore has had an existence of sixty-three years. Just think what it would have meant to students of Ohio history and especially those who come to our great University if we could have here in this building all the newspapers that were published in the first sixty-three years of its existence. That, of course, cannot be. These papers and other original source records of our history, many of them, have either been destroyed or have passed into the possession of institutions beyond the borders of our state.

In view of this unfortunate condition the publications of our Archaeological and Historical Society become increasingly important as the repository and record source of materials relating to the history of our state. Of the work in archaeology I need not speak except to remark that it is well done and that the field for future investigation has been effectively secured against outside intruders. Had the work

in the collection of historic records been taken up by someone when the society was organized and pushed with the same vigor that has characterized the work in archaeology, there would be here a library of books, documents, manuscripts, and newspaper files comparable to the importance of the history of our state.

The best that can be done now is to gather materials still available and have made copies of other important documents and papers to be bound and accessible for research work and for use in the publications of the society.

The most important historical contribution of the society, of course, is to be found in its publications, chiefly in the bound volumes of its Quarterly. These now number thirty volumes of from three hundred to six hundred pages each and covering a wide variety of subjects. As is natural in such a publication they are of different degrees of merit, but every volume contains contributions of first rate importance to students of Ohio history. Realizing this, Professor E. F. Warner in 1918 prepared a "Bulletin of Source Material for the Study of American History as found in the Publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society." This covers the first twenty-six volumes, and is a guide to the contributions of historic value that have appeared from time to time in the Quarterly published by the Society. This bulletin has been widely distributed and the frequent requests still received for it attest the fact that it meets a need in our public schools. So impressed have we been with the reception of this publication that we contemplate within the coming year a second edition brought down to date and somewhat extended in scope.

What is really needed in order that the wealth of material in these publications may be readily available to teachers and students is an index volume covering in detail all of the thirty volumes with a supplemental classification of contributions designed especially to assist pupils and students in research work. Such a volume, of course, would require much painstaking work in its preparation and an appropriation for publication, but the need for it is so imperative that it should be undertaken at the earliest date possible.

In no other state, perhaps, have the publications of a historical society been more generally or generously distributed than have those of Ohio. This indicates a popular interest in these publications that has not as yet been reflected by the attitude of the General Assembly toward the Society. There is a willingness to appropriate money for publications to be distributed under the direction of members, but a failure to appreciate fully the importance of collecting the materials from which these publications and the publications of the future must come. The sets that have already been distributed, many of them, have reached the libraries and the schools. They should be kept up by additions from year to year with index volumes to make their contents readily accessible. Without indexes and guides to their contents it is feared that in many instances these publications have

been permitted to rest peacefully on shelves and accumulate the dust that finds an abiding place on volumes seldom in use.

The indexes will help, but, of course, to accomplish maximum results, they must be supplemented by the enthusiastic interest of an active, wide-awake teacher. Pupils and students should be made to feel the nearness of everything that goes to make up the history of our state. In every county this may be brought home to them through incidents of local history. That is a somewhat sweeping statement I know, but it is essentially true. My home county is Columbiana, somewhat remote from this state capitol. News from that county, it seems to me, is always belated. At election time I usually have to wait for papers a week late to learn about results. I am sure that the county does not figure very prominently in the thought of the average citizen of Ohio. He perhaps has heard that Marcus A. Hanna was born there and that, in many instances, will be the limit of his knowledge of the contribution of Columbiana County to the history of Ohio. At least I am sure that it is not a more fruitful source for local history than a majority of the counties of the state. And yet if I were teaching school there again I think I could arouse some interest in local history. In a few moments if time will permit, I will illustrate in a rambling way.

Of course the society has issued a number of separate publications. Some of these appeared originally in the Quarterly, but some have been published only in separate form. Among the latter are the Archaeological History of Ohio by Gerard Fowke, the Archaeological Atlas of Ohio by William C. Mills, the History of the Northern Americans by David Zeisberger, the Centennial Celebration of Ohio, edited by E. O. Randall, Poems on Ohio, edited by C. L. Martzloff, and the Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes, edited by Charles R. Williams, and now passing through the press in two volumes. These and the remaining publications issued by the Society should be in every public library of the state.

In these times we hear much about Americanization, usually with special reference to our foreign population. The Americanization of the foreigner has very properly received much attention. I am sure that all teachers of history appreciate the fact that there is a large field for the Americanization of Americans and the greatest agency in this work is the Americanization power of American history. The youth who follows the successive steps in the development of our state and nation and is imbued with the story of the progress of both is not likely to need other instructions in duty to the flag and the country. It is likewise true that the youth to whom the record of the past means little or nothing, who is disposed to treat with indifference or contempt the achievements of those who have gone before us in the development of the resources of this country, is on dangerous ground. Someone has truthfully said that the first evidence of national decay is indifference to the past. Unfortunate is the state that has no his-

tory, but more unfortunate is the state that forgets its history. Hence the importance of developing a constant and ardent interest in the record of our nation, our state, and the section in which we live. Here in Ohio movements of national importance have had their development, and a goodly number of men who attained national eminence have been born within the borders of the state. We are fortunate in local materials for the study of history and the development of an intelligent patriotism. Without extravagance it can be truthfully said that a most important source of these materials will be found in the publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

TREASURER'S REPORT, DECEMBER 5, 1921

Receipts:

Balance on hand, January 15, 1920.....	\$ 73.54
From dues	156.00
From the Ohio Valley Historical Association (one-third expenses 1920 annual meeting).....	8.67
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Total	\$238.21

Expenditures:

June 1, 1920, Bratton Circular Letter Co.....	\$ 37.87
Oct. 1, 1920, Postage and Clerical Services.....	8.50
Oct. 16, 1920, Janitor Services.....	1.00
Nov. 11, 1920, Franklin Printing Co.....	17.50
Oct. 28, 1921, Postage and Envelopes.....	4.50
Nov. 1, 1921, Franklin Printing Co.....	13.40
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Total	\$ 82.77

Balance on hand, December 5, 1921..... \$155.44

(Signed) CARL WITTKÉ, Treasurer.

THE PLACE OF COLLATERAL READING IN COMMUNITY CIVICS

By JULIE F. KOCH

Cleveland High School, St. Louis, Mo.

There is scarcely a pedagogical magazine lying on the library shelf today which does not contain in some form or other material on the subject of Teaching Civics, or else the content of the course, but so uniform is the point of view, so iron-clad the *modus faciendi* that the following suggestion may not seem quite apropos. We are so infatuated—if I may use so strong a term—with the benefits to be derived from the study of Community Civics (which has its beginning and end with the word “community”) that the larger systems have annexed the study to the list of compulsory courses. During the past war, we were very careful in our endeavor to Americanize the elements of the melting pot neither to imitate the attitude of nor the methods employed by the Prussians in their pre-war propaganda; is it unpedagogical, and decidedly unpsychological to entertain the thought that so concerned are we today with the incessant hammering in of the idea community that some may lose sight of the bigger concept Americanism upon which the structure of our educational system rests?

To this heterodoxy comes the prompt reply! “But we travel from the known to the unknown; our students begin with the community and in the last year of high school study European History intensively.” This may be true in some of the larger cities, but the bulk of our schools—the township and rural institutions—cannot, because of the nature of things, adopt so scientific a procedure. There many graduate with a year of Ancient History, or a year of any other kind, or even two kinds, as long as one credit can be displayed; there are no funds to provide for a course in social problems. Vocations descend to a one-semester “filler in” for flunkers, and for those boys and girls there is not the slightest feeling of *Weltgeist* to offset the tendency toward the narrowing process of Community Civics.

The life of the lad of the city tends of itself to make him cosmopolitan, and to overcome the objections I hazard, but so much cannot be said of the youth of the town. This is true though sounding trite, and we need not quote “Main Street” on the subject. So obvious is it, that we forget that the curriculum of the standard courses of the city cannot be duplicated verbatim in country schools, but so strong is the process of imitation that the latter are flocking to arm themselves with Community Civics.

The average boy has grown up with his town; he has fished in its streams, and hunted in its timber; he has swept its sidewalks of

Saturdays, and run its grocery wagons for pin money; its limits are the limits of his horizon. Although for some unaccountable reason he may hate it at manhood, and drift to the city, the point is that his point of view remains local. Sectionalism may be a dead issue in the textbooks, but teach a group of thirty boys in so free a locality as the Middle West, scratch below the surface, and the ghost is very much alive. The classroom in which this is not the case is the exception that proves the rule. The work of the Consumers' League, the efforts of the Welfare Associations, the untiring devotion of the Volunteers of America in behalf of the jobless man are unknown, and—so I have been told more than once—"mere talk" since "I don't care how those guys live." This youth of the small town is apathetic in the early years of adolescence, and quite unlike his brothers dwelling in the apartment alongside the street car line; he is not egotistical, of course, but he is quite self-satisfied, and noticeably selfish where his pocket-book is concerned, because the occasions of arousing him emotionally—the one time when we do loosen the purse strings—are few since good public speakers or preachers come little to his neighborhood, and the other avenue of emotional outlet, namely reading, is denied him since much is yet to be done in the way of traveling libraries.

The proverbial missionary box sent from the small town is a story of more fact than fiction, and an interesting study could be made from the location of the schools responding last winter to the stirring plea of the *Literary Digest* for funds for starving Europe. Scan the homes of the well-to-do farmer of the Middle West for any books which may be around; the dearth is noticeable to the most casual observer. We speak in American History of the "inarticulate farmer;" I wonder if Community Civics will help to eradicate the complaint?

My plea is this: Since Community Civics must be the order of the day, why not supplement the course extensively with outside reading of a sociological nature which will tend to arouse the imaginations, to awaken the spirit of brotherhood, and to create a groping at least of *Weltgeist*. Surely such outside reading is necessary, and there is no more admirable place to begin it than in Community Civics. In rural sections, this program can take the place of the visits to factories, public institutions, etc., all of which form so vital a part of the course in civics in cities, and will supplement the weekly political periodical besides inculcating the habit of systematic reading in the hope it will be kept up after high-school days.

It will be noted that in the following suggestive list practically all the articles have been taken from the same journals for the last two years. This was done to show the possibility of material in available current literature. The *Century* and *Scribner's* have been cited since both can be used with equal facility by the English department with the upper classes, and the expense therefore will not be heavy on the school funds. The selection of fiction was made to show: (1) the possible scope of the reading, (2) the correlation practicable with the work in American History, and (3) the type of book which the public

library—if there be one and if correlation exist—may be persuaded to purchase since it will circulate readily among the grown-ups.

Sometimes the public library will permit the school to borrow of it, in which case a shelf in the school library labelled "Civics" will be handy, since the students will always know where to go, and may develop the habit of browsing. As a chapter on banking is included in the Civics text now, one may not be going too far into the field of economics to put on the shelf a few pamphlets on Thrift, and Investments, as, for example, the material mailed gratis by the Kriebel Banking firms of Chicago and such houses. In one, Peter, a thrifless parent is the hero of the tale; the narrative is interesting, and well illustrated with pictures; the moral is nicely tucked away in a sugar-coated pill. Then there are the circulars of information concerning wills, deeds, etc., available at every bank, and by no means to be scorned.

In one rural school, the writer has asked for twenty pages a week of outside reading expecting one hundred; three hundred have been the average. That and the broader horizon displayed in class discussions were proof conclusive of the sanity of the experiment.

TYPES OF BOOKS SUGGESTED

- Abbott, Grace—*The Immigrant and the Community*. Century.
Abbott, Lawrence—*Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt*. Doubleday.
Addams, Jane—*Twenty Years at Hull House*. Macmillan.
Antin, Mary—*Promised Land*. Houghton
Antin, Mary—*They Who Knock at Our Gates*. Houghton.
Anthony, Joseph—*Rekindled Fires*. Holt.
Aruadottir, Holmfridur—*When I Was a Girl in Iceland*. Lothrop.
Arnin, Mary A.—*Christopher and Columbus*. Doubleday.
Austin, Mary—*The Young Woman Citizen*. Woman's Press, N. Y.
Balch, Emily Green—*Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*. Charities Publishing Commission, N. Y.
Bullard, Arthur—*Comrade Yetta*. Macmillan.
Bridges, Horace—*On Becoming an American*. Marshall.
Castle, William—*Hawaii, Past and Present*. Dodd.
Cather, Willa Libert—*My Antonia*. Houghton.
Cather, Willa Libert—*Song of The Lark*. Houghton.
Clemens, Samuel (Mark Twain)—*Life on the Mississippi*. Harper.
Cogen, Rose—*Out of the Shadow*. Doran.
Cooper, Frederick—*Thomas A. Edison*. Stokes.
Corrothers, James D—*In Spite of the Handicap*. Doran.
Deland, Margaret—*Old Chester Tales*. Harper.
Dawson, William H.—*German Life in Town and Country*. Putnam.
Ford, Paul L.—*Honorable Peter Stirling*. Holt.
Forman, Samuel—*Stories of Useful Inventions*. Century.
Fox, John, Jr.—*Kentuckians*. Scribner.
Fox, John, Jr.—*Knight of the Cumberland*. Scribner.
Fox, John, Jr.—*Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come*. Scribner.

- Fox, John, Jr.—*Trail of the Lonesome Pine*. Scribner.
- Harte, Francis Bret—*Luck of Roaring Camp and Other Stories*. Houghton.
- Hasanovitz, Elizabeth—*One of Them*. Houghton.
- Hasbrouck, Louise S.—*The Hall With Doors* (Story of vocations). Woman's Press.
- Haskin, Frederick J.—*Panama Canal*. Doubleday.
- Judson, Katherine—*Old Crowe Stories*. Little.
- Judson Katherine—*Myths and Legends of the Great Plains*. McClurg.
- Keller, Helen—*Story of My Life*. Houghton.
- Lummis, Charles—*Pueblo Indian Folk Stories*. Century.
- Matthews, Washington—*Navaho Legends*. American Folk Lore Society.
- Miniter, Mrs. E. W.—*Our Natupsi Neighbors*. Holt.
- Myers, George—*History of Great American Fortunes*. Kerr.
- Omstead, Florence—*Father Bernard's Parish*. Scribner.
- Rice, Alice Hegan—*Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*. Century.
- Rice, Alice Hegan—*Children of the Poor*. Scribner.
- Rice, Alice Hegan—*Making of An American*. Macmillan.
- Rice, Alice Hegan—*Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*. Macmillan.
- Rihbany, Abraham Mitrie—*A Far Journey*. Houghton.
- Robinson, H.—*Inventors and Inventions*. Imperial Machine Co., N. Y.
- Roosevelt, Theodore—*Through the Brazilian Wilderness*. Scribner.
- Schurz, Carl—*Reminiscences*. 3 volumes. Doubleday.
- Stein, Gertrude—*Three Lives; Stories of the Good Anna, Melanatha, and the Gentle Lena*. Lane.
- Steiner, Edward A.—*Broken Wall*. Revell.
- Steiner, Edward A.—*The Immigrant Tide; Its Ebb and Flow*. Revell.
- Steiner, Edward A.—*From Alien to Citizen*.
- Stern, Mrs. G. E. L.—*My Mother and I*. Macmillan.
- Tarbell, Ida May—*Life of Abraham Lincoln*. Macmillan.
- Tarbell, Ida May—*History of the Standard Oil*. Vol. 1. Macmillan.
- Tobenkin, Elias—*House of Conrad*. Stokes.
- Verrill, A. H.—*Porto Rico, Past and Present, and San Domingo of Today*. Dodd.
- Wald, Lillian D.—*House on Henry Street*. Holt.
- Washburn, C. G.—*Theodore Roosevelt; the Logic of His Career*. Houghton.
- Zangwill, Israel—*Children of the Ghetto*.
- Zangwill, Israel—*The Melting Pot*.

TYPES OF MAGAZINE ARTICLES SUGGESTED

- Baldridge—*The Hope of China*. Scribner's Magazine, July, 1920. p. 54 ff.
- Crowell—*Here Is a Wonderful Man You Ought to Know*. (The story of William Hood.) American, January, 1921. p. 16 ff.
- Carb—*They Are Not Like Us*. Century, August, 1919. p. 455 ff.

- Frank, M., and Carr, J.—*Exploring a Neighborhood*. Century, July, 1919.
- Foster—*The Citizen*. Everybody's, November, 1908.
- Galsworthy—*A Hedonist*. Century, July, 1921, p. 321 ff.
- Greenbie—*This Little Pig Went to Market*. Century, September, 1921. p. 743 ff.
- Gregg—*A Voice and a Vote in the Factory*. Century, November, 1919. p. 99 ff.
- Henderson—*Scheherazade of the Factory*. Century, January, 1920. p. 427 ff.
- Hoyt—*Citizens in the Making*. Scribner, June, 1920. p. 681 ff.
- Kellogg, Vernon—*Story of Hoover*. Everybody's Magazine, February, March, April, May, 1920.
- Kobriu—*A Lithuanian Village Fair*. Century, February, 1920. p. 521 ff.
- Komroff—*In a Russian Tea House*. Century, July, 1919.
- Mortimer—*Square-deal Towns; the Story of George F. Johnson*. American, January, 1921. p. 37 ff.
- Paradise—*By Mail*. Scribner's, April, 1921. p. 473 ff.
- Paradise—*Trailing Statistics on An American Frontier*. Scribner's, September, 1920, p. 322 ff.
- Paradise—*Matches*. Atlantic Monthly, November, 1921.
- Parsons—*A Hopi Ceremony*. Century. December, 1920. p. 177 ff.
- Snyder—*Traits of My Plantation Negroes*. Century, July, 1921. p. 367 ff.
- Wilson—*Feeding the American Army*. Century, November, 1918. p. 77 ff.
- Zeziarska, Auzia—*The Fat of the Land*. Century, August, 1919. p. 466 ff.

BULLETIN OF THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

To give children the greatest possible advantage from the schools and at the same time to cut down unnecessary costs, Denver schools are reclassifying all pupils according to mental age, studying the cost of instruction per pupil, helping children choose vocations when they leave school, and doing everything else they can to prevent waste in instruction, according to the December *School Life*. That the same tendency to give the new generation the best educational results possible is found all over the United States and in other countries is indicated by other articles in the same issue. The American Legion is taking a stand for spreading Americanization through the medium of the schools, and in accordance with this movement, Dr. John J. Tigert, the United States Commissioner of Education, has arranged for the distribution of free copies of the Constitution of the United States.

The new interest that the United States is taking in the rest of the world is reflected in college courses of study from California to Maine. Seventy-one colleges and universities are listed in *School Life* as offering courses preparing young men to represent the United States in foreign trade and other foreign service, the University of Washington enrolling 407 students in this field. Georgetown University offers a complete curriculum in preparation for the steamship business, an important step in the advancement of the United States in its new era as a shipping nation. Establishment of a graduate school of geography at Clark University shows the same spirit of keeping up with foreign affairs. The international trend of education is further shown by the great number of foreign students who study in American institutions, more than 1400 being registered in the higher institutions of New York City alone.

German education is trying to rid itself of the old militaristic ideas and to give the common people some of the educational advantages which formerly belonged only to the upper classes. Teaching practice in central and northern Europe is discussed in this number by Dr. Peter H. Pearson, who spent most of last year in Europe studying educational affairs. This article is one of a series of studies of European education by Dr. Pearson which have been appearing in *School Life*. A report from the Philippines shows that American schools are influencing nomadic Filipinos to settle down and form permanent communities under the guidance of "settlement farm schools."

School Life is the official organ of the United States Bureau of Education. The principal function of that Bureau is to collect information as to educational progress and disseminate it among

school men and women throughout the country. In the Bureau's early years it published little besides an annual report of formidable proportions; but it became apparent that big volumes issued at long intervals did not meet the need of American school people, who are not satisfied to wait a year for their information. The practice arose therefore of issuing "circulars of information" and "bulletins" which usually consisted of monographs of considerable extent. These added greatly to the usefulness of the Bureau of Education, but they did not fill the demand for up-to-date information of important movement and events. Brief leaflets were issued, therefore, when occasion required, and these in turn were supplemented later by mimeographed circulars, which could be prepared quickly and issued frequently.

All these methods of diffusing information have been continued by the new Commissioner. They do not, however, either singly or in the aggregate, completely meet the demand, according to Commissioner Tigert, who discussed the matter yesterday. A method is required of collecting information systematically and of publishing it regularly, frequently, economically. This need was met by the establishment of the periodical *School Life*.

This publication has proved to be of great use to educators and it is in such demand that the free edition of 40,000 is insufficient, Dr. Tigert stated. It has been necessary to establish a subscription list, and the Superintendent of Documents sends the publication regularly to those who pay the actual cost of printing from stereotype plates, namely, 30 cents a year.

The mimeographed leaflets that formerly came from the Bureau of Education literally by millions have almost entirely ceased since *School Life* has been issued; and the printed leaflets have been greatly reduced in number. The periodical covers the ground far more effectively and economically. Its cost is actually less than that of other forms of distribution, and it presents a more pleasing appearance and bears an aspect of permanence which the mimeographed material lacks.

School Life is one of the 41 Government periodicals whose publication was suspended December 1 because authority for them lapsed at that time. The further existence of all these periodicals depends on the passage of Senate Joint Resolution 132, which has passed the Senate and is now before the House of Representatives, or of some other measure with like purpose.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The Journal is under obligations to the Ohio Academy of Social Science, and especially to the Secretary, Mr. C. W. Reeder, for the opportunity to present to its readers some very interesting material from the proceedings of the Academy at its last meeting, April 14 and 15. We print first the principal paper of the meeting, by Professor Shepard of Ohio State University, and then the report of the Committee on Freshman Social Science, in the form of three papers giving the experience of college teachers with this problem. Members of our Association, both high-school and college teachers, will find very instructive and suggestive matter in the discussions of this question.

The last article in this number is a review of Professor Schlesinger's *New Viewpoints in American History*. This work has a special interest for high-school teachers of American History; members of the Association will be glad to have this early and comprehensive analysis of its contents.

THE MOVEMENT FOR REFORM IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

By WALTER J. SHEPARD

Ohio State University

The statement by Lord Bryce in the *American Commonwealth*, written in the middle eighties of the last century, that "the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States" no longer holds true. Since the beginning of this century the problem of reform in municipal government has been vigorously attacked and the success which has attended the efforts of reformers in this field constitutes one of the most inspiring chapters in the history of popular government. The inefficiency, graft, and corruption, well-nigh universal in our larger cities; the impotence, ineptitude, and irresponsibility of our smaller towns has given place to honesty, competence, and responsibility in our municipalities generally. Instead of being the favorite subject of the muck-raker, who never tired of ringing the changes on the "shame of the cities," our municipalities have become in very truth "the hope of democracy." This does not mean, to be sure, that perfection has yet been achieved; that there are not still occasional exhibitions of the old-time characteristics; that many communities do not lag behind in the institution of reforms which have elsewhere demonstrated their efficacy. But the solution of the municipal problem may truthfully be said to have been discovered, and in increasing numbers American cities are applying it in more or less thorough-going fashion.

What is the magic formula which has wrought this transformation? It may indeed be summed up in a phrase: "concentration of authority under strict control." Whether it be by the adoption of the commission or city-manager types of government, or by less radical schemes of administrative and legislative reorganization, the movement has in every case been away from the ancient and traditional doctrine of the separation of powers and the system of checks and balances, toward the ideal of business management, the ideal of centralizing power under effective responsibility. There are several important implications or corollaries to this new principle of governmental organization. It involves simplification in the machinery of government; the short ballot; the employment of experts in technical positions; the loosening of party control; effective publicity regarding every branch of administration; and an awakened interest on the part of the citizens in public affairs.

It is of interest to observe that the development of the science of municipal government and administration has been coincident with the practical movement for municipal reform. At the beginning of

this century these subjects were scarcely to be found in the curricula of any of our colleges or universities. There were only two or three treatises worthy of the name dealing with this branch of political science. Today courses in municipal government and municipal administration are given in every college and university of any importance in the land and the literature has increased amazingly. Powerful organizations like the National Municipal League and the American Civic Association devote themselves to the work of scientific research and through their reviews and other publications broaden the general field of knowledge regarding municipal affairs. Perhaps the most significant development has been the establishment of numerous bureaus of municipal research in our larger cities, either as branches of the city administration itself or as voluntary and endowed institutions, which are assiduously devoting their attention to the study of special problems and the discovery of the facts upon which their solution depends. Science has been an indispensable aid to the movement of reform in the government and administration of our cities.

If the problem of local government in urban communities may be considered well on the way toward solution, its existence in rural areas has only recently been recognized. Local rural government in this country has remained substantially unchanged for a century. In many of its features it harks back to colonial and even to medieval times. We are probably familiar with the two main original forms of local government, that of the township in New England, and that of the county in the south. In the middle colonies a compromise or dual system was established. Subsequent to the Revolution the western states adopted either the pure county system of the south or the compromise system of the middle states. In Ohio, local government is modeled upon that of Pennsylvania in which both county and township appear, but the county is distinctly predominant. Here the main lines of organization were established by 1820. Such changes as have since occurred have been in the direction of centralization. Especially in recent years the county has gained at the expense of the township. But the general character of local government has remained substantially what it was a hundred years ago.

However adequate for the simple conditions of a century ago, these institutions of local government have become increasingly obsolete. They have not only endured over into an age with a vastly different social and economic *milieu*, but they have remained until very recently, unchallenged. They have not commanded the attention of students of government nor aroused the interest of reformers. Local government is the "jungle of American politics," whose thick undergrowth of outworn law and usage is only now being penetrated. Professor Fairlie's volume on *Local Government in Towns, Counties, and Villages*, which appeared in 1906, was the pioneer work in this field,—the first real attempt at a general description of township and county

government in this country,—though several important special studies of an historical character had earlier been made. Until Professor James's textbook on *Local Government in the United States* appeared last year, Fairlie's work remained practically in sole possession of the field. A considerable number of monographs and reports on special problems have been published in the last dozen years, but the work of reducing the maze of facts to systematic form, of critically appraising the worth of institutions, and of laying the foundations for needed reforms has as yet scarcely begun. It is a virgin field for the political scientist, though one upon which he can enter with assurance since the problems are in many respects those which he has encountered elsewhere.

The necessity for fundamental structural reform in local rural government is becoming every day more evident. This necessity is the product of two prime causes, inefficiency and wastefulness, which characterize these local units in greater or less degree everywhere. The activities of local government are becoming continually more numerous and more important. The antiquated agencies, inherited from a previous epoch, are demonstrating their utter incapacity to perform these newer functions or to cope with the expanding requirements in the older fields of governmental action. While graft and corruption in their grosser forms may be rare, wastefulness and extravagance are well-nigh universal. In particular situations the trouble has become acute and in a few instances first steps have been taken toward reform. Generally, however, the public is not yet awakened to the need and, indulging in its proverbial complacency, awaits the impulse of intolerable conditions before it rouses itself to action.

Let us consider a few of the features of local government which most obviously demand reform. And, first, there is the double system of township and county government. Is there need today for the township, specifically in Ohio? To challenge this ancient unit of local self-government may seem like laying profane hands on the ark of the covenant, because about it cluster many of the most cherished traditions of democracy. The New England township has long stood as the most perfect example of popular government; its annual town-meeting as the purest distillation of the principle of direct democracy. West of the Hudson the township system is of three types. New York is an example of the nearest approach to the New England model. Here the township antedates the county in origin; the annual town-meeting is maintained; and the county board is a relatively large body composed of representatives from the several townships. In a second group, represented by Minnesota and the Dakotas, the annual town-meeting is preserved, but the townships are not represented on the county board. In the third type, including Pennsylvania and Ohio, the county has always been the predominant unit of local government. The township exists, but neither chooses represen-

tatives to the governing board of the county nor maintains an annual town-meeting. Even in the first and second types the primary assembly has never been more than a pale reflection of its New England prototype, generally confining its activities to the election of town officers, and not engaging in any real legislative work. In all these middle and western states, however, there has persisted a profound popular favor for the township. The belief that in it government is brought near to the people has been widespread. We find such a state as Missouri, settled from the south for the most part, and supplied through the usual system of county government with all the necessary equipment for meeting local needs impelled through its constitution of 1875 to accord the privilege to the people of any county, so voting, to establish a township organization—a privilege which has actually been seized by twenty counties in the state. Was it a really felt need for local government based on a smaller unit which explains this provision in the Missouri constitution and the action of the people in this score of counties? Or was it merely the idea that this represented a further step toward control by the people of their government—a move in the direction of more complete democracy?

The civil township is coincident with the original surveyed township of six miles square, or is at least of approximately that area. In New England it performs a wide variety of functions—many of those, indeed, with which elsewhere the county is endowed. In the middle and western states its importance varies, but the co-existence of a stronger county government has everywhere deprived it of a position at all comparable to that which it occupies in New England. Professor Fairlie thus describes the situation in Illinois:

Towns in Illinois have very limited powers. They are vested with corporate capacity, and may levy local taxes and make by-laws for a few enumerated purposes. . . . They also elect a considerable number of officials for road and judicial administration and for the assessment and collection of taxes. But the matters which form the important business of New England towns are in Illinois looked after by the cities, villages, and school districts. . . . Town finances are of very slight importance. The road and bridge tax is separately administered; and the general town levy is usually not more than two or three percent of the total taxes, and averages less than six cents on the \$100 of taxable value. The principal expenditures are for the assessment of property for taxation and the compensation of town officers.

In Ohio the functions of the township are somewhat more inclusive, but still of relatively minor importance.

Small as is this division of government, and limited as are its powers, it nevertheless maintains an elaborate apparatus of officials. In Ohio there is a board of three township trustees, which is the central governing authority of the township; a clerk; an assessor; a treasurer; a road superintendent; one or more constables; and where needed a ditch supervisor. In addition to this group of officers, who may be said to constitute the township government proper, there are

the justices of the peace who are chosen in and by the township and the local school administration over which the township had until recently certain powers. Until recently there was also a board of health. The question is certainly pertinent whether this organization is serving any useful purpose; whether the work which it is doing could not profitably be transferred to the county. In this age of good roads, motor vehicles, and telephones, is a unit of local government smaller than the county any longer necessary? An analysis of the administrative activities of the township will, it is believed, afford convincing proof that the township should be abolished. Indeed it will be clear that in Ohio it is actually undergoing a gradual process of decay by being deprived of one function after another, or at least of having its various powers seriously limited and curtailed.

The functions of the township in this state have included the conduct of schools; the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges; the enforcement of health regulations; the relief of the poor; the conduct of elections; the assessment of property for taxation; the levying and collection of taxes for township purposes; the borrowing of money; the preservation of peace and order; the provision of a town hall, a library, a hospital, a cemetery, hearse, and vault, a park or parks; and the supply of artificial light for streets. To these must be added the administration of justice in minor cases, if justices of the peace courts are to be considered as a part of township government. Other functions may at an earlier time have attached to the township, but these certainly include all the matters of importance with which townships have in recent years been concerned. This enumeration certainly suggests rather extensive powers, but it will be observed at once that some of these powers, such as the levying and collection of taxes and the borrowing of money, are merely incidental to others. They are exercised only in furtherance of some substantive power or for the support of the government. Others, like those which relate to the establishment of a town hall, a library, a park, a hospital, or a cemetery, or which provide for the supply of artificial street lighting, are permissive and not mandatory. To what extent the townships in the state have availed themselves of these permissive powers the writer has been unable to ascertain, but it is believed that not a great deal of use is made of them. These services could certainly be supplied through the agency of the county quite as well. There remain the functions relating to education, roads, health, poor-relief, elections, assessment of property, law enforcement, and the administration of justice. Let us examine the legal powers of the township in these several fields.

Previous to 1914 there were four kinds of school districts in Ohio; namely, city, village, township, and special districts. Each civil township constituted a township school district, over which there was a board of education consisting of five members. At an earlier period every township was divided into sub-districts each of which maintained

its own school and was practically autonomous. The school code of 1904, however, permitted township boards to suspend sub-district schools and establish consolidated township schools. This was the first important step in the centralization of educational administration. For a decade the township was the chief agency in rural education. But the need of further centralization led to the passage of an act in 1914 which swept away the township school districts entirely and provided for county school districts which had previously not existed. It is true that provision was made in this act for rural school districts, which are presumably the older sub-districts in communities where consolidation has not been effected. And it is also to be noted that by an act of 1915 such rural school districts within a township are permitted to join together into a district coincident with the township, though this is not called a township school district. The effect of the act of 1914 and subsequent legislation was virtually to deprive the township of all control over education and to establish the county as the unit in this field of administration. The county board of education is now elected by the qualified voters of the county school district. Successive enactments have strengthened the powers of this board and the process of centralization has proceeded apace. The rural school districts are being placed more and more under the supervisory control of the county board of education.

The townships in this state also formerly possessed important powers relating to the prevention of the spread of infectious diseases and the abatement of nuisances, but the enactment, in 1919, of the law providing for municipal and general health districts (the latter territorially coincident with the county) has substituted an effective, specialized, and powerful agency in the field of health regulation for the feeble township authorities. Such legal powers as the township may still possess relating to health are useless and their exercise will scarcely be found necessary in the future.

The tendency toward superseding township by county authority, noticeable in every governmental activity, is perhaps most marked in the field of highway construction and maintenance. In 1915, the Ohio legislature enacted a lengthy statute "providing a system of highway laws for the state of Ohio," which repealed practically all previously existing legislation on this subject. As amended and supplemented by subsequent acts, each of considerable length passed in each of the succeeding general assemblies, this measure takes a long step toward depriving the township of what had earlier been its most important function. By this legislation the public highways of the state are classified into state roads, county roads, and township roads. The use of motor vehicles has totally changed the character and purpose of the highway system of this state. In the early years of the commonwealth, highways were practically the sole means of intermarket communication, and a system of national and state highways was in process of development. The coming of the railroads, however, af-

furnished a far more satisfactory means of intercommunication and highways came to have merely a local importance. The automobile has entirely altered the situation again and the development of an elaborate system of state highways is once more taking place. The aid afforded by the national government for the building and improvement of roads is conditioned on an effective, centralized state control, and further conduces to the transfer of authority to central agencies. Even the county is too narrow a unit for the efficient conduct of very much of the work in this field of roads and highways. A strong state department has been built up whose supervision over local agencies has deprived them to a large extent of their previous autonomy. The township is altogether too small an area to be entrusted with other than minor and secondary powers and the question may well be raised whether its complete elimination from the field of highway construction and maintenance would not make for efficiency. Under present legislation, while the township may construct minor roads and has a somewhat larger jurisdiction in the matter of repairs and improvement, all county and state roads are practically taken out from under its care, though it must pay a quota toward their cost. Its functions in what was earlier its major activity has thus dwindled almost to the vanishing point.

The recent history relating to the function of assessment of property for taxation in Ohio is of great interest. Previous to 1913 not only was this function entrusted to the township, but there were actually two township assessors, one for personal property and one for real property, the assessment of the latter being made only quadrennially. The county auditor had power to make corrections in certain cases in the returns of the assessors, but really exercised no supervisory or directing control over these local officials. The county board of equalization was the sole county agency for securing uniformity of assessment. Assessment was a township function and performed by township officers. The act of 1913 not only abolished the system of township assessment, but passing entirely over the county transferred this function to state authorities. The theory that underlay this act was that assessment of property for taxation is not a function of local but of central government. Taxes for the support of the state government are levied on the basis of assessments and, while the same duplicate serves the uses of local divisions, the relatively increasing importance of the state levy warrants the state in taking over this function of assessment. The jockeying by local assessors to secure for their own communities exemption from the full burden of the state and county levies was a very practical consideration in providing for a system of assessment under the supervision and direction of the tax commission and conducted by district assessors appointed by the Governor of the state. The assessment districts, it is true, were made coterminous with the counties; but the officials in

charge of assessment were in no way connected with the county government.

To the political scientist this act represents a close approach to a scientific system of assessment. It must receive his complete and enthusiastic approval, and its repeal must be regretted as distinctly a step backward. Doubtless public opinion in Ohio had not been sufficiently educated to appreciate that assessment is not only a central rather than a local function, but that it is also a highly technical function which requires experts for its proper performance—experts whom it is impossible to secure by means of elections in small local units.

The system of state assessment was given only a two years' trial. In 1915 the experiment was abandoned, but there was not a complete return to the old plan of township assessment. Indeed the system established in 1915, under which we are still operating, may be said to be in effect county assessment. It is true that the township assessor is restored, though now a single assessor appraises both real and personal property. But the county auditor is given general direction and control over the work of assessment in his county. All assessors in the county are required to meet on the second Monday in April of each year at the office of the county auditor who shall instruct them in their duties. The county auditor may, moreover, at any time summon an assessor before him for additional instructions. The law provides that "assessors shall obey such calls and instructions." The county auditor is given the power of removing assessors for "want of moral character, inefficiency, incompetency, neglect or breach of duty or malfeasance in office." In effect these provisions make the township assessors mere assistants of the county auditor. A degree of state supervision is retained through the tax commission, which is given the power to direct and supervise the assessment for taxation of all real and personal property in the state, but this central control does not extend far enough to deprive assessment of the character of a function of county government. There is obviously nothing in the nature of the function nor in the circumstances of the situation which requires that the county auditor's assistants should be elected in the townships. There is certainly every reason from the standpoint of efficiency and business management that they should be appointed by their chief without reference to township lines. It is clear that so far as assessment of property for taxation is concerned the township no longer performs any essential or important function and that such vestiges of authority as it still retains might very advantageously be transferred to the county which has already become the real unit of administration in this field.

Under the Ohio law the general supervision of elections is vested in the Secretary of State under the designations of state supervisor and inspector of elections and state supervisor of elections. In each county there is a board of deputy state supervisors of elections which

exercises direct control over all elections in the county. The townships in rural areas are election precincts, except where they contain more than 400 voters when they may be divided by the board of deputy state supervisors of elections into election precincts with approximately 200 voters in each. All precinct election officers, including four judges and two clerks, are appointed by the board of deputy state supervisors of elections. The only duty in connection with elections which is performed by township officers is the fixing of the places within the township where the elections shall be held. This is done by the township trustees. It is obvious that this detail might well be transferred to the county board which provides for and supervises the elections in every other respect.

The act of 1919 relating to county infirmaries and poor relief effected a revision of the law on this subject. Responsibility for the care of the poor is divided between the township and the county. The law states that "it is the intent of this act that townships and cities shall furnish relief in their homes to all persons needing temporary or partial relief who are residents of the state, county, and township or city. . . . Relief to be granted by the county shall be given to those persons who do not have the necessary residence requirements, and to those who are permanently disabled or have become paupers and to such other persons whose peculiar condition is such they cannot be satisfactorily cared for except at the county infirmary or under county control." Admission to the county infirmary is secured through the township trustees who present the facts to the superintendent of the infirmary, who passes on the question of admission. The function of the township, it is thus seen, is confined to affording outdoor relief and making applications for admission to the county infirmary. Considerations of efficiency certainly suggest the centralization of control and responsibility in one agency, and this agency should, without question, be the county and not the township.

The office of constable is time-honored and sanctioned by a thousand years of history. The humble conservator of the peace and ministerial officer of the justice of the peace in an American township traces his lineage back to the great *comes stabuli*, the count of the stable of medieval kings. He enjoys the halo of ancient tradition and a long, unbroken precedent. And yet "other times, other manners" may be our defence for challenging the constable to a wager of battle for his office. In local government, not one but many old and time-honored offices and institutions must in the immediate future stand before the judgment bar of public opinion and be tried by the modern law of efficiency.

The constable performs two kinds of duties. He is, first, a conservator of the peace in his county; and, second, he is the ministerial officer of the justice of the peace and in a few cases of other courts. The Ohio statutes provide that "Each constable shall apprehend, on view or warrant, and bring to justice, all felons, disturbers, and

violators of the criminal laws of this state, and suppress all riots, affrays, and unlawful assemblies, which may come to his knowledge, and, generally, keep the peace in his proper county." The provisions regarding his duties as ministerial officer of the justice's court are voluminous. These latter duties are an integral part of the function of administering justice in petty civil and criminal cases, to which our attention will be presently directed. The question now is as to whether the preservation of law and order is at the present time a proper function for the township. This function of conservation of the peace the constable shares with the sheriff. In urban communities of any size both constable and sheriff have been relegated from the scene, and the work is actually performed by a trained and professional police force. In the rural areas, which constitute our study, is there need for both sheriff and constable? The area of the average county in Ohio is about twenty-two miles square, which means that the remotest farmstead is seldom more than fifteen miles from the county seat. With good roads and telephones rapidly becoming universal, the sheriff or his deputy will soon be able to arrive on the scene of any trouble certainly within an hour, and ordinarily within half that time. Indeed it is probable that, within instant call by telephone, he could usually arrive sooner than the constable who is likely to be at work in his fields or away from home. The advantage of centralizing this function, now divided between two officials, is clear. The sheriff and his staff give their entire time to the work of their offices; they are presumably somewhat experienced, if not trained or professional men. The state of Pennsylvania has gone so far as to establish a body of state police, thus centralizing still further the function of conserving the peace. Certainly the county is a small enough unit for the performance of this function.

The considerations regarding the last remaining function of the township, that of administering justice in petty cases, are much the same as those relating to the preservation of peace and order. Like the constable, the justice of the peace has a long and glorious history. How much should we lose if the "squire" were eliminated from English literature! Yet the sandglass of time and change would seem to run for him too, and he will have difficulty to justify his existence when an effective beginning is made on the reorganization of local government. He lingered long in the municipalities, but has had at length to give way in many of our cities to the more efficient and specialized municipal court. For the work of administering justice, even in the most petty cases, the county is none too large. It is, however, large enough to employ the full time of one or more judges who would possess a training in the law and acquire an experience which it is impossible to expect from the township squire, who only occasionally interrupts his vocation as farmer, or village store-keeper, to empanel a jury and preside over the trial of some petty quarrel between his neighbors, or to solemnize the marriage of some runaway couple.

What is the conclusion which this study must reach regarding township government? No other, certainly, than that it has outlived its usefulness; that it is already suffering decay and that the process of its disintegration has increased rapidly in recent years; that such functions as it still performs ought in the interest of economy and efficiency to be transferred to county agencies; and that its rather elaborate machinery ought to be entirely abolished.

A second major problem in the field of local government, likewise involving the question of duplication, arises in connection with municipalities of considerable size. Where the majority, or at least a large portion, of the people of a county live within a single city, there is presented a duality of governmental agencies which is extravagant and inefficient. The municipality is a much more highly organized and, today, a more efficient and business-like unit of local government than the county. Why preserve the county organization over such cities as Cleveland, or Cincinnati, or even over Columbus or Toledo? In many local areas the units of local government are by no means confined to city and county. Chicago is the classic example of overlapping divisions of local government, with its thirty-eight distinct sets of agencies, including those of Cook County, the municipality proper, the Forest Preserve District, the Sanitary District, fourteen towns, seventeen park districts, the Library Board, the School District, and the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Outside of Chicago, in Cook County, there are no less than 355 local governments. Such complexity is on its face absurd, and confusion, friction, and wastefulness are its inevitable results. The movement of unification, for county-city consolidation, in which all local agencies will be absorbed in the municipal organization has gained considerable headway during the last decade in a number of our largest cities. In Cleveland the Civic League has been for several years waging a spirited campaign to secure a constitutional amendment permitting consolidation of city and county government. The area of Cleveland is something over fifty square miles; that of Cuyahoga County is 463 square miles. But the population of the city constitutes about nine-tenths of that of the county. The Civic League points out that there are 93 political units in Cuyahoga County electing more than 800 officials. Surrounding the city of Cleveland are a number of other suburban cities and villages. Only about two per cent of the population of the county is rural. Thus the situation is not dissimilar to that of Chicago. Consolidation, or the establishment of Cleveland and its suburban area into a city-county, is the evident solution and would, it is estimated, effect a saving of about twenty per cent in the cost of government. The same problem appears in the case of Cincinnati, where the area of the city is seventy square miles and that of Hamilton County is 407 square miles. The population of the city is about seventy-eight per cent of that of the county. The establishment of county-city government is here also being agitated.

California has gone farthest of any state in providing for this situation. By an amendment to the constitution as early as 1894, the merging and consolidation of city and county government into one municipal government was permitted. Subsequently an amendment was enacted permitting cities with more than 50,000 population to frame home-rule consolidated charters. Los Angeles has recently availed itself of this provision of the constitution. This is evidently the line along which progress lies. No rigid system of consolidation should be prescribed by the state, but each community should be allowed to meet its own problem of consolidating its local governmental agencies in its own way.

The third and most important problem connected with local government is that of making county organization more simple and more flexible and adaptable to the needs of the people. There are something over three thousand counties in the United States, varying in size from twenty-four square miles, in the case of Bristol County, Rhode Island, to twenty thousand square miles in the case of San Bernardino County, California. The average area is something over one thousand square miles. This average, however, does not represent the typical county, as it is unduly affected by the large but sparsely settled counties of the West. The average area of the county of Ohio is four hundred seventy-eight square miles which is somewhat under the normal represented by an equal number which exceed and those which are less extensive in area. The variations in population are even more striking, ranging from New York County, N. Y., with over two million seven thousand inhabitants (according to the 1910 census) to Cochran County, Texas, with sixty-five. The average population is near thirty-three thousand. It is important to note that there is the widest diversity in area, population, and density. Three types may be distinguished: the rural counties which contain no cities of importance; the counties which contain one or more cities of considerable size, but where the majority of the population is still rural; and those counties in which more than half of the people live in one or more cities. Of these three types the first is far the most numerous. The last class, of which there is the least number, is the one in which the problem of consolidation presents itself the most frequently. Is it not clear that the governmental requirements, which rest upon the economical and social needs of these widely varying communities, are widely different? And yet it is almost universally the fact that a rigid, prescribed system of county government is imposed upon all the counties of a state regardless of their divergence in character. It is to meet this need that the movement for home-rule charters for counties is being widely urged by reformers in local government.

The need for reform in county government is not, however, to be met merely by making it more flexible and adaptable. After provision has been made in this way for those counties in which the majority of

the population are urban, and in which widely varying conditions require the opportunity to construct the framework of local government to suit the special needs of each community, there still remain the large majority of rural counties for which some general type of organization is desirable. It is certainly not beyond the facts to say that there is a general consensus of opinion among students of political science that the present system is outworn, excessively complex, and cumbersome; that it is prolific of extravagance, highly inefficient, irresponsible, and too often corrupt. That it has been tolerated so long is partly due to the more pressing problem of reform in municipal government, partly to the proverbial complacency of the American people and their blind devotion to obsolete dogmas. The notion that democracy means the widest possible expansion of local government, and popular elections of practically all officials has found well-nigh universal lodgment in the mind of the American citizen. He would resent most emphatically the imputation that he was a political theorist. He prides himself on being a practical man. And yet no better example could be afforded of the shackling control which political dogma may at times exert upon political action than the popular attitude toward local government. A new point of departure, a new mental orientation is necessary. That has been found and widely accepted in municipal government. The dogmas of the separation of powers, of checks and balances, and of the long ballot have given place to the idea of concentrated authority under strict responsibility. It remains to make the application of this newer principle of politics to county government.

The county organization in Ohio is by no means as complex as that found in many states. It consists, however, in all counties of the following officials: one or more judges of the court of common pleas, three commissioners, a probate judge, a clerk of the courts, a sheriff, an auditor, a treasurer, a recorder, a surveyor, a prosecuting attorney, and a coroner. Besides this organization of county government, the county is the unit for various other governmental activities. Thus the Boards of Deputy State Supervisors of Elections, the County Boards of Education, and the district boards of health operate over local divisions territorially coincident with the counties. We are in danger, as the functions of government become more numerous, of still further multiplying independent agencies, whose over-lapping authority is certain to cause friction and to prove both costly and inefficient.

The problem of simplification involves the abolition entirely of some offices, such as that of the coroner, and the consolidation of others, such as is now permitted in counties with less than sixty thousand population, in the case of the court of common pleas and the probate court. Finally the reorganization of county government demands the full and logical application of the principle of the short ballot. County officers are generally not important enough to command the intelligent

and informed attention of the electorate. They are not chiefly political, but administrative in their functions. They should for the most part be appointed, and appointed on the basis of technical qualifications to be ascertained through civil service examinations. The judges, in the opinion of the writer, should all be members of one state court and appointed by the Governor or by an elective chief justice. The commissioners should correspond to a commission in a commission-governed city. As exercising such political functions as exist in the county, they should be elective, and should be the only elective county officials. The other county officials should be appointed, but whether all should be appointed by the commissioners or some by central state administrative officials depends upon whether in each case their functions are to be regarded as truly local in character—a question too large to enter upon at this time.

With such a system responsibility would be centralized, and efficiency secured. Fundamentally the problem of county reorganization is identical with that of municipal reorganization. Our experience in the latter field should afford us the information necessary to proceed apace and without costly mistakes in the former. But the *sine qua non* is an awakened public interest and an aroused public conscience. Democracy, like the mills of the gods, grinds slowly, but eventually, it is to be hoped, it will grind exceeding small.

FRESHMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSE IN OHIO COLLEGES

By O. GARFIELD JONES

Toledo University

It is generally conceded today in Ohio colleges that some social science should be taught in the junior college, if the students are to choose their major subject at the beginning of the junior year. But this concession to the social sciences does not imply that social sciences should be taught in the freshman year. On the contrary, the great majority of Ohio colleges do not believe in social science courses for freshmen. So long as this is the majority opinion and practice, it should be the duty of the Committee on Freshman Social Science of the Ohio Academy of Social Science to report merely on what is being done rather than to develop an argument as to what ought to be done.

Western Reserve University permits freshmen to take "American Government and Politics." The University of Akron expects to permit freshmen to take the same course there next year. Muskingum College gave a one hour a week course in the form of "Social Science Problems" for freshmen this year. They are modifying the course somewhat for next year. At Ohio Wesleyan University they are making a very earnest effort to give a "gateway" course in the freshman year, five hours one semester, with the objective of having the students properly prepared to get the most out of the "principles" courses in political science, economics, and sociology in the sophomore year. They are running this course four times in succession to give it a fair trial before deciding definitely as to its value or lack of value in the regular curriculum.

Three freshman courses in social science are offered and have been offered since 1920 or before at Toledo University. One is of the "gateway" type. It is called "Introduction to Social Science," is a three-hour course for one semester, and is taught by an instructor. Dow's *Introduction to the Principles of Sociology* was used in 1920-21. The instructor found this text too elementary, unless well supplemented by collateral reading in other courses. This year Park and Burgess's *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* is being used, and has been found too difficult for the average freshman in a three hour, one semester course. The course cannot be said to have proved its merits as yet, but it will be continued with further modifications.

A second course at Toledo University is "History of Civilization," a three hour, one semester course given by the head of the sociology department. H. G. Wells's one volume *Outline of History* is being used as a text. Some chapters are not assigned, and for those that are studied questions are given out in advance to crystallize and sys-

tematize the student's thinking and to direct the classroom discussion. Quizzes are given about every ten days. The chief criticism of the course comes from the students, who feel that they are hurried through history too fast to get much of a grasp of any part of it. The course has many good features. A further reduction of the content of the course by a process of selection rather than by condensation, and a limiting of the size of the classes to thirty-five or less may make this course a very valuable one. Perhaps an even better change would be to leave the content the same, or even amplify certain portions of it, and then make the course five hours for a semester, or three hours for a year. It has the virtue of giving all your future students of social science a common background of institutional history, which is quite as valuable as any "gateway course" and more easily taught.

The third social science course for freshmen at Toledo University is the antithesis of a "gateway course." It is a course to train students for effective municipal citizenship, this being one of the specific functions of any municipal university. At present the course bears the misleading title of "Introduction to Municipal Government." It is a three-hour course for one semester, two-thirds of the time being devoted to Munro's *Government of American Cities*. The other third of the recitations are given to actual drill in parliamentary procedure. The examinations for this part of the course are all oral. The course is given only during the first semester, because the annual elections in the Fall are used as laboratory material for the first half of the course, and there are no elections during the Spring semester. The chapters in the text dealing with elections, parties, reforms, etc., are studied before the November election and for outside work each student has to prepare a precinct report on the party organization, election machinery, and electioneering methods in his precinct, as well as make an actual estimate as to how the vote will go for the candidates for the most important office to be filled at that election. These reports are due before 3:30 on election day. The accuracy of these election predictions is an important factor in the grade the student gets on his precinct report. After election each student has to make out an administration report on the organization, history, functioning, and problems of some one division or bureau of the city government.

This course is not in any sense a foundation course in political science. Instead, it is more of a finishing course in citizenship. It has been very satisfactory thus far; first, because there are very few difficult points of theory in municipal government; second, because the newspapers and the political activities in the city help keep the students vitally interested in the topics being studied in the classroom; third, because the classes have been kept small, thirty-five or less; and, fourth, because the city officials have coöperated so cordially in making a success of the field work of the students. Nearly all of our students are Toledoans, and nearly all of them have had a good

course in American government in high school. There has been no change in the plan of this course since 1920, nor is any contemplated for next year. It is taught by the head of the department with the assistance of a student assistant to grade papers.

Since the high schools and even the junior high schools are developing social science courses and are presuming to solve the pedagogical difficulties of teaching social organization, institutional history, and social science problems to immature pupils, it is certainly time for the college and university authorities to give serious consideration to the question of junior college social science. Certainly every student should study American government before the end of his sophomore year in college. Many students never get beyond that year. But when students have a good course in American government during their junior or senior year in high school, the justification for repeating the same course within two years is not apparent to the chairman of this committee. At Toledo University we are considering giving a three-hour junior college course in American government for students who did not have high-school civics. A four-hour senior college course on American government is open to sophomores.

Professor Barnes of Ohio Wesleyan University and Professor White of Muskingum College will report in detail on the freshman social science work at their respective institutions. All of these experiments should be watched with interest, not only by the social science teachers, but by all those in authority in the educational world who realize the overwhelming nature of the social, economic, and political problems that face the world today.

THE GATEWAY COURSE IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

By GILBERT H. BARNES

Ohio Wesleyan University

There were two patterns for this course available. The first is the one illustrated by the survey course of an encyclopedic character taught at Columbia. The course taught at Toledo with Wells's *Outline of History* is another example of this type of course. The reason why this course was not chosen as a model is as follows: The fundamental problem which we had to solve was not a problem of imparting information, but rather one of making the student aware of the body of relationships that exist within the area of his own experiences. The immediate problem in the social sciences and especially in economics is not to take the student on a mountain top and show him the world of time past, and the world of space here and abroad, but to modify his point of view with reference to everyday facts so that he will appreciate the significances in relationships, causes and consequences of things that happen to him, and in which he is a causal factor.

To summarize, our task was not so much one of giving the student a survey of the field covered by the social sciences as it was to orient the student within the facts of experience claimed as the field of social sciences. So the encyclopedic course was not taken as a model.

The other model at our hand for an introductory course was the one of direct approach based upon the method, from the familiar to the unfamiliar; from the immediate to the remote; from the specific to the general. The idea behind this method can be stated in a paragraph thus: We say to the freshman, "you are a living being having certain experiences, and we want to teach you to understand yourself and those experiences. We shall study first yourself; your physical origin and your mental traits. Second, we shall study your experiences. Within your experiences there is a regularity and a sameness to the experiences of others around you, which indicate that they have a more general significance than your individual interpretation would make them signify. In the first place your family experiences are based upon a system of moral and conventional requirements which cannot be explained or understood completely without reference to the history of sex relations and family relations now expressed by this system of moral and conventional requirements. But this system of moral and conventional requirements makes up a social institution which we will study now in relation to our ideal purposes for the family and the actual results that are accruing."

In like manner the facts of experience having to do with fraternity relationships and other face-to-face relations; group relations in the

city and in rural communities—generalized finally in the problem of population—are covered. These relationships have to do with that classification which literally has no name, but which might be called purely social.

This illustration is a fair one of the method that is carried out in the other departments of the social sciences, politics, and economics. An extraordinary emphasis is placed upon historical origins of political and economic institutions through lectures in the class.

As was said, the purpose of the course is to orient the student rather than to inform him. To generalize this purpose, permit me to add one sentence. This course departmentalizes the social world. Courses in History, Economics, Sociology, and Political Science are conceived to be specializations in this classification.

The material of the course was as follows: First, Social Psychology, Textbook, Edman, *Human Traits*. Second, Social Groupings from the sociological point of view, that is, the family, the neighborhood, the rural community, the city, race adjustment, population, and the nation. Textbook, Elwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*. Third, Social Groupings from the point of view of political development. Text, Haines and Haines, *Principles and Problems of Government*, Chapters I-VI. Fourth, Social Groupings from the economic point of view. Text, Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*. The course is five hours a week, for a semester, meeting in two sections. The head of the department of economics teaches one, and the head of the department of sociology the other. For purposes of administration the course is placed with the department of sociology. At the end of the present semester, nearly two hundred students will have taken the course.

The course talks better than it teaches. None of the texts that were used were satisfactory. The student got a sad notion of the unity of society when he contemplated the family through the simple style of Elwood, and then attempted to put beside it economic organization as explained by Tawney. Many students did not understand the purpose of the course when it was finished, judging from the papers handed in in one section, at least.

Whatever the course is worth will not be apparent till next year, when the other members of the social science faculty at Ohio Wesleyan receive these students that have had the training course along with those that have not, and can compare them.

One thing can be said with confidence. Every sophomore course in the social sciences presumes that the student knows something, at least, of the world in which he lives. If the students that took our Gateway Course are typical, that presumption is totally unjustified. Their ignorance was appalling. Whether this course is a success or not, some such course is greatly needed.

A SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSE FOR FRESHMEN

By ARTHUR S. WHITE

Muskingum College

Our opinion as to the desirability of a Social Science "Introductory" course will, no doubt, be influenced by the problems of our own particular department and school. If our department is already overcrowded, we will probably prefer to continue our work with advanced students. However, even in such case, our aim and method may lead us to feel that much time might be saved if some ground breaking had been done before the students' entrance in the advanced courses. In my own experience, I find this to be most desirable. Most of my students come to me with their minds closed, and closed tightly around presuppositions which I find it necessary to shatter rather ruthlessly before I can get my work under way. Some teachers seem to assume that a student's mind is open if his memory is functioning. It is enough for such teachers if the student catches what is passed out and returns it in the same due form. In my own teaching, I aim to develop a critical and analytical attitude, hoping that from this attitude some creative and constructive minds may be developed.

When I took my present position, I found but little interest in and but few students in my department. My first problem was to interest the students. To do this I gave a one-hour course to Freshmen, which I called "Contemporary Political and Social Problems." While a one-hour course is not justifiable from a pedagogical point of view, this course has seemed to serve its purpose. As the aim in this course was to create an interest in the problems in my department, I ignored conventional pedagogical rules and adopted any means that I thought would stir up oppositions in the class, and thus develop interested discussion. This method, I might add, is not confined entirely to my one-hour course. As a result many discussions are continued outside of class, which makes it desirable for students to seek more information.

In this one-hour course, aside from requiring each student to subscribe for a magazine, I require each student to turn in a written list of all periodicals in the library which deal with current problems, with a brief note on the subject matter contained in each. In addition to this I require a term paper of about 2500 words. In assigning the subjects for these papers, I inquired of each student what subject he was most interested in and concerning which he had the least positive information. On the basis of this inquiry a subject was assigned. There was no particular system in the method used in the class. Sometimes a subject was assigned for investigation. At other

times we had a general debate. The debate method was followed if the class seemed to be divided on the question. It was the rule for students to debate the side opposing their preconceived views.

From my own point of view, and after a thorough discussion in my advanced classes with students who have had the course, I am convinced that the work as given has been more than justified. However, we were all of the opinion that the course should run two hours and that something should be done to improve the student's historical background.

From these conclusions, we have planned a further experiment to consist in a two-hour course throughout the year. The first semester to be given over to a brief historical survey of the evolution of civilization, with particular emphasis on the social and economic conditions that have given rise to many of our moral and ethical standards, as well as many of our legal, political, and economic concepts. The aim of the survey will be to disabuse the student's mind of the finality of much current dogma by showing its origin and to show some of the elements that have contributed to our present problems, and the importance of the scientific method.

Following this preliminary course, we plan to give a two-hour magazine course similar to the one outlined. As the home environment of the average student has given him the point of view of such magazines as the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *American*, *Leslie's*, the *Independent*, etc., I should start the whole class off on the *Nation* and *The New Republic*. Not so much to convert them to the point of view of these magazines, as to show the class that an unconventional point of view is possible, and sometimes even sounds intelligent. And besides these magazines will shake their passive mental machinery into activity. But as I have said, this program is still an experiment.

NEW VIEWPOINTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER

(The Macmillan Co., 1922. \$2.40)

Professor Schlesinger's *New Viewpoints in American History* comes at a most opportune time. The historical guild is finding it necessary in the disordered and perplexing world of today, to re-adjust its methods of teaching, to prove the practical value of the work it is doing, and to find some meaning and interpretation for the mass of historical facts which the older textbooks were content to pour without discrimination into the minds of students and teachers. The present-day history teacher, in the anxiety to avoid interpretations which might betray a conviction, no matter how honest and justified, sometimes goes to the other extreme and makes his story a dry, colorless, and often meaningless recital of barren facts. A greater familiarity with the results of recent historical scholarship would go far to improve the history teaching in our schools, but many conscientious teachers in the secondary schools have found it a physical impossibility to keep pace with the advances in historical scholarship. It is primarily to serve the high-school teacher that Professor Schlesinger has written this book. He has summarized, in a book of less than three hundred pages and in a non-technical style, some of the results of the researches of America's historical scholars of the present era, and has provided a short cut to an historical literature which would probably be otherwise inaccessible to most public-school teachers. The book is full of suggestions for those interested in finding topics for research, and contains much historical information which it is difficult to find even by those who have access to the ordinary libraries. Further, some chapters suggest interpretations for the events of recent history which do much to supplement the colorless accounts in many recent texts, and to make the present era intelligible.

Chapter I deals with "The Influence of Immigration on American History," and traces the successive views of immigration to America from colonial times to the present. The influence of environment upon the settler has been, for a generation, adequately stressed by that vigorous cult of scholars who claim for the frontier atmosphere of "the New West" perhaps more than its share as a determining force in United States history. In this chapter, the contributions of the immigrant, and the effect of immigration upon the new America, are properly emphasized. We are just beginning, in our history writing, to pay some attention to the share which various racial groups have had in the building of America. "Stewardship of American ideals and culture is destined to pass to a new composite American type now

in the process of making." It is therefore not only an academic problem, but an intensely practical one, to rightly appraise the contributions of immigrant groups to our national life and culture. The reader may be surprised to learn how much non-English strains in our population have figured in the making of our history—sometimes they have been the deciding factors.

Of special timely interest is a chapter on "The Decline of Aristocracy in America" and another on "Radicalism and Conservatism in American History." These chapters are not only valuable for their content of historical data, but also for interpretative suggestions which come very near to being a philosophy of American history. Our present-day democracy is the result of generations of struggle against the various class distinctions and class privileges of the past. In colonial times, it was generally the backwoodsman who became the "leveller" and fought the battles against a colonial aristocratic class. Even the Declaration of Independence provided for little democracy as we define the term today. Numerous devices in the federal constitution prove the distrust of "the Fathers" for "an excess of democracy;" the democracy of Jefferson barred the masses from participation in government; and Webster, John Adams, John Marshall, and others opposed manhood suffrage. Jacksonian Democracy carried the cause one step further and the Civil War practically ended the regime of a proud and powerful aristocracy in the South. In modern times, a new group has arisen, the aristocracy of wealth—"coal barons," "steel kings," "Napoleons of finance," etc.—whose "ensigns armorial," in the words of Josiah Strong, "are the trademarks." The organization of the wage-earning class to carry forward the struggle for industrial democracy, which may eventually lead to an entirely new organization of the nation's industries, is but the last phase of this struggle against all forms of aristocracy. It has been the pride of Americans (Professor Schlesinger points out) to trace this steady advance of democracy, but it is not so pleasing to be forced to record the speedy process by which each new class with its victories freshly won, has mobilized its forces to defend the *new* "established order" against the attacks of even more democratic generations. The writer has demonstrated that "every new victory won by the masses . . . signified the yielding of aristocracy to (what seemed for that time to be) the combined forces of ignorance, avarice, and mobocracy." The chapter on "Radicalism and Conservatism in American History" traces our history from colonial times as the chronicle of the achievements of eight successive generations of American statesmen, and shows how "leadership in public affairs has passed from the liberals of one political division to the moderates of the other, and vice versa,—epochs of 'radicalism' and 'conservatism' following each other in alternating order." Both radical and conservative groups have made real contributions, and America has progressed (the writer concludes) not by following preconceived theories, but rather "by experimentation

and opportunism." Our leaders have been great men insofar as they possessed "the capacity for adaptability to change." These are truisms, to be sure, but it is worth while to have them restated, and buttressed again with historical facts. Professor Schlesinger's fifth chapter has done this most convincingly. The writer has traced many reform movements through the three stages through which they seem inevitably to pass—first, the stage when the reform is advocated by the soap-boxer, the extremists, "the lunatic fringe;" then the stage in which the reform receives the support of "practical statesmen" (liberals and moderate conservatives who perhaps favor the change to prevent something worse); and finally, the third stage, when public opinion accepts the reform measure as useful, natural, and harmless. It is at this stage that the new order begins to harden and crystallize into a new conservatism. It is an undeniable fact, as Professor Schlesinger points out, that our historians have been too much occupied with the story of political reforms, to do justice to more important reform movements, such as the struggles for the establishment of religious liberty, temperance, prison reform, child labor legislation, public-health regulations, criminal codes, educational policies, etc. It is well in these days of intolerant thinking to have an historian's conclusion that "the best assurance of the peaceful and orderly advance of the people in the future would seem to lie in a jealous regard for the right of free exchanges and comparisons of opinions."

It is impossible to give other chapters the attention they deserve. There is a chapter on "The Role of Women in American History," which is an excellent summary of woman's part in the history of the United States, together with a good brief account of woman's long struggle for larger rights and opportunities. The chapter on "The American Revolution" summarizes the results of modern scholarship and furnishes a much needed antidote for some of our textbook accounts of the Revolutionary period. There is a chapter on "Economic Influences in American History," and one on "Economic Aspects of the Movement for the Constitution." The latter represents the Constitutional Convention as the work of practical hard-headed men of affairs (not closet philosophers), acting in part from motives of intelligent self-interest, and to re-establish conditions—after the confusion of the Confederation Period—in which property rights, contracts, and investments would be properly safeguarded. Those who are timid about accepting any economic interpretations for historical events, because they think it leads to socialism, may take comfort in the discovery that John Adams clearly recognized the economic motive behind the Constitutional Convention, and James Madison, in No. 10 of the Federalist Papers made one of the most effective statements of the influence of economic factors on legislation that has ever been made.

A chapter on "the Significance of Jacksonian Democracy" has as its main theme the idea that Jackson was the product, not the creator of

the democratic spirit of his time. "Like Rostand's *Chantecler*, his crowing did not summon the sun of a new dawn, but his voice rang out in clarion tones when the morning light was breaking." Professor Schlesinger's development of this theme is most interesting. The book is brought to a close with chapters dealing with "The Foundations of the Modern Era," and "The Riddle of the Parties." In the former, the economic revolution is represented as the key to a correct understanding of most recent problems, and in the latter, an effort is made to discover the real meaning of our present-day parties, and to stress the influence of minor parties, as "safeguards to the peaceful and orderly development of American society."

At the end of each chapter, there is an excellent bibliography for those who wish to follow further the work of the modern school of historical writers. The references are to material which for the most part has not yet found its way into the texts. Professor Schlesinger's book will prove useful and stimulating for the college teacher of American History; there is hardly a lay reader who would not find most of the book profitable and fascinating reading; for the progressive teacher in the secondary schools, the book is indispensable.

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NINTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Ohio History Teachers' Association held its ninth annual meeting in Columbus, at the University, Friday and Saturday, November 24 and 25. The Ohio Valley Historical Society held its sessions at the same time, and joined with the Association in the Friday evening meeting and in the Luncheon Conference on Saturday.

In preparing the program, the Executive Committee departed somewhat from the traditions of the Association, in the number of papers by scholars of authority in particular fields, with a consequent smaller emphasis on methods of teaching and problems of the high-school teacher. The richness of the program left no time for discussion of the papers, which is of course to be regretted. The program might, therefore, be criticized on three points: its failure to include papers by high-school teachers, its slighter emphasis on methods and problems of teaching, and the absence of adequate discussion. The committee did not propose this program as a model for the future, but presented it as something of an experiment, in the light of the fact that teachers nowadays attend various educational conferences in which methods and problems constitute the substance of the program. The committee explicitly asks for expressions of opinion on the program as presented and on the policy implied; such expressions, if communicated to the Editor, will be transmitted to the Executive Committee.

The first session was held in the Library, Friday afternoon. Professor A. H. Hirsch of Ohio Wesleyan University, President of the Association, opened the session with the presidential address, "The Element of Inspiration in History Teaching." The paper will be printed in a later number of the JOURNAL. The next paper by Professor Raymond C. Cahall of Kenyon College, on "England During the French Revolution," will also appear later. Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University, in his paper on "New Light on Robespierre," explained the contemporary interest of French scholars and writers in the personalities of the Great Revolution, and the tendency to rehabilitate one or another of the Terrorists, and gave his own view of the ideas and the character of Robespierre.

Immediately after this session of the Association, the members were invited to attend a meeting of the Graduate Students' Conference in History and Political Science. Professor William E. Dodd of the University of Chicago spoke on "Lee and the Confederacy." The purpose of the talk was to illustrate to a group of graduate students how important it is to make a careful, scientific, and detailed investigation

of what may seem at first appearance to be but a minor detail in the history of a great movement or cause.

Professor Dodd began by sketching briefly the career of Lee, from before the Civil War to his death. He then discussed Lee's military genius, pointing out that in every battle except the last (which he lost) he fought against forces of double the size of his own. He then analyzed in detail the campaign of 1864, with diagrams showing the movements of Grant and Lee. He showed that Grant won the battle by an entirely unexpected move, the long, secret, and highly hazardous march around Lee, to Petersburg. In Professor Dodd's opinion, had Lee won, Grant would have been removed, and Lincoln would have lost the fall election of 1864. On the curious turn of events in May, 1864, may have depended the fate of the Confederacy and of Lincoln and of the Union.

In the evening Professor Dodd gave a public address in the Auditorium of Campbell Hall on "The New Foreign Policy of the United States," in which he analyzed the various stages of our policy in respect to the Monroe Doctrine, and indicated the problems connected with our participation or nonparticipation in the European settlement.

The morning meeting of Saturday, November 25, was taken up with two papers; one by Professor H. C. Hubbert of Ohio Wesleyan University on "Humanizing Historical Method," and the other by Professor Roderick Peattie of the Department of Geology, Ohio State University, on "Geography in History." These papers are printed in this number of the JOURNAL.

The morning session was followed by a brief business meeting. The Nominating Committee presented its nominations for offices for this year, the Association adopting its recommendations by electing the following officers:

President, C. C. Kohl, State Normal School.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor George A. Washburne, Ohio State University.

Members of the Executive Committee: Miss Annette Walsh, Columbus; Miss Louise Pray, Toledo; Professor W. C. Harris, Ohio University.

Two resolutions were adopted by the Association:

1. That the Managing Editor of the JOURNAL be a member of the Executive Committee;
2. That the Association expresses its willingness to join with the Ohio Academy of Social Sciences and to co-operate in arranging a program for a History Section.

The noon Luncheon Conference at the Chittenden Hotel was a joint meeting with the Ohio Valley Historical Society, and was presided over by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, President of the Society. Professor Henry R. Spencer of Ohio State University spoke on "Self-Determination in the Near East." This paper will be printed in a later number of the JOURNAL.

GEOGRAPHY IN HISTORY

By RODERICK PEATTIE
Ohio State University

The roots of history run deep into the ground. The study of ground in its relation to human development is human geography. Geography is essentially a subject of relations. It is not concerned with physiography, or climatology, or anthropology, history, sociology, or economics as such, but with the relation between these studies; that is, the relations between environments and man. The elements of environment are to be found in the physical sciences, but to appreciate the results of these controls one must turn to the human sciences. That both heredity and environment are fundamental to historic processes no one will deny. Their varied reactions create that intricacy which makes problems in historical research so delightful. The environmental factors are in the beginning simple. A mountain barrier is an obvious and tangible thing. Seas are seas and to the eye are much alike. But the interactions of the various elements of geographic position, topography and climate are tremendously complex, with an infinite variety, and the farther geographic studies are advanced the more complicated they become. Therefore, if I quote a few examples of physical influence in history first permit me to say that these are not as simple as they appear. The only simplicity in them lies the fact that in all historical investigations, if one goes back far enough, one comes upon some elemental, but very powerful control.

History runs in the ruts of the earth. Caesar first came into Gaul to assist the western tribes to hold the pass of Belfort against the Germanii. In 1918 I saw trains of grey-clad Italians coming up from Italy for the same purpose. Again, the pass at the west end of the almost impassable Pyrennes has been significant since the days of Roland and Roncesvalles, it played a great part in the campaigns of Wellington and Napoleon, and is today the commercial and cultural connection between Madrid and Paris. What pageantry of history has passed along the great route at the base of the mountains from Teheran, to Herat, and Kabul, and so to the Kyber Pass. Or in our own country, even with man's increasing freedom from local environments, has not the Mohawk Valley become of greater and greater historic importance since the Dutch at New Amsterdam? Along its course we built first a road, then a canal, and later two great rail arteries. Today it is the place where transmitted electricity, coal, and commerce meet.

Another type of definite response to physical conditions is illustrated by the part played by the nomad in political and cultural his-

tory. This must be more familiar to historians than to me. But a knowledge of the physical conditions of the steppes and deserts and their resultant economics as obtained from a study of geography cannot but give greater insight into folk-wanderings. Not only the cause of the nomad's restlessness, indeed the justification, but the character of his military system, the aspects of his religion, the state of his culture, are all so intimately connected with the economic and social conditions of his precarious pastoral life, that to study history of Mongol, Berber, or Western cowpuncher without full knowledge of these physical circumstances would seem as if one were studying history backwards instead of forwards.

The evidences of geography in the equatorial belts are not as dramatic as those of the steppes, but are even more dominant in their control. In searching the historical aspects of that vital question, the future government of the tropics, we are thrown intimately with its geographic conditions. These conditions may be divided into at least four groups:

1. The inability of the natives to govern themselves after years of living in an enervating, luxuriant climate which has bred ignorance and indolence.

2. The white man has so far been unable permanently to acclimatize himself. The final test of acclimatization is the raising of children. Children of northern European parentage born in the tropics must at the age of 4 to 6 return for a period of growth to their natural habitat, in order to maintain the moral, mental, and physical robustness of the parents.

3. The white man cannot labor in the tropics. The white man maintains himself in the tropics only by the most careful sanitation. Acclimatization in these regions of moist heat is not so much a physiological change as a conscious adaptation.

4. The preceding conditions result in a class distinction, necessarily. The present tendency towards world democracy then is to find limitations in the tropics where rule and economic production are based on essential slavery. These regions will upset the equilibrium and progress of world democracy, and their governments will effect significantly the history of all countries, for with population increases we must look to the luxuriant tropics for food.

Or let us take a few factors in a regional study. England before the geographic discoveries of the fifteenth century was, as Shakespeare put it, "The utmost corner of the west." She was represented by the Greek and monkish geographers truly as "Land's End." The lands about her had indented coasts which bred sailors and they faced her on three sides. Hence it was the focus for marauders from North Cape to Finisterre. After Columbus changed the world outlook and the continents were conceived as islands in a common sea, England was not longer at the edge of things, but in the exact center of the land hemisphere. The great circle sailing routes centered on this island,

which was also the nucleus of European land routes. So much for her position.

That England is an island and not continuous with the continent has meant more in her history than I could retail in an hour. Her insularity has freed her from continental extremes of climate and so differentiated her economy. The isolation has developed to such an extent a provincialism that the internal unity and group consciousness of the nation has created an indelible type. Emerson said: "An Englishman is an island within himself." Insularity tends toward ethnic simplicity. The early invaders necessarily came in small ship-loads and these little units were easily absorbed. Hence no such racial complexity as that of Alsace-Lorraine exists here. Also in the wars from 1062 to 1914 the seas stood as a barrier of defense. Napoleon went to Moscow easier than he might have gone to London. It has meant that England has minimized her army and turned these men to trades. Her expensive navy has arisen only as commerce has demanded it and can be thought of not so much a precautionary burden as concommittant of already established trade.

Her seas, while preserving her peace and adding to her commerce, have aided in many other ways. It is in the shallow seas that fish are found, and English ships from Biscay to Iceland have augmented her scant bread power by fish flesh. There is an element in the weather of these seas which has been a means of defense. During the period of naval supremacy of Mediterranean countries, England was safe; for the clumsy galleons of the gentle trade-wind belts were unable to cope with the stormy seas of the cyclonic zone. These seas have aided commerce in another manner. They increased tides which, bearing up the funnel-shaped estuaries of the Thames, Mersey, Clyde, and Forth Rivers, in the Bristol Channel, and about the Isle of Wight, have created harbors which would otherwise not exist. The Avon River at Bristol, for instance, is an insignificant stream, but the tides here give a periodic depth of forty feet. The tides warping about England on two sides meet at the mouth of the Thames, and with combined strength create that extraordinary harbor, the London Pool, and give motive power to 12,000 barges. On the Flanders coast, on the contrary, they alternate so as to counteract their influence, permitting the silting up of harbors. Four of the ports on that coast are artificial and the other four almost so. Again Britain everywhere faces the sea. The water so penetrates the land that no point of the island is over 70 miles from the coast. There are 5500 islands in the British archipelago which act as stepping stones to the sea. These are some of the factors which have taken Englishmen in ships to the uttermost ends of the earth.

The industrial development of England has its geographic as well as purely economic phases. In the early days England had a climate proper for agriculture, especially on her southeastern plains. She had fuel in her forests and waterpower for the grinding of grains.

Combine these with protection from military invasion and they spell in those early centuries prosperity. But islands, because of their peaceful history, tend toward overpopulation. The surplus population was forced on to the sea and its sailing propensities built up a commerce which aided a remarkable industry. Local resources, however, were the basis of her manufacturing. One early industrial phase was the making of woolen cloth. War, which killed the sheep of the continent, had forced the Flemish weavers to Norwich, where they spun English wool. Later the factories moved to about the Pennine Hills, where the sheep fed upon moors too high and damp for agriculture and where streams supplied by heavy rainfall plunged to the plain and turned the mill-wheels. It was this same humid climate that made Manchester the cotton center; for thread will snarl in drier climates. And it was the cotton trade which in turn built the Manchester ship canal, making that great industrial interior a seaport. This canal has served 150 towns. England also had iron ore in several localities. These ores were first reduced by charcoal and the deforestation of the Weald and Arden and Dean Forests resulted. At a later date coal was developed. This is today a most important factor in her greatness. Her coal resources are so in excess of her iron ore that ore is being imported today from Baltic Scandanavia and Biscayan provinces of Spain. In this regard need I mention the cities of Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield. There is in the vicinity of the coal also salt as a basis for chemical industries and clay for potteries.

Insularity, overpopulation, energetic climate, physical conditions which bred sailors, journeys on the sea for fish, an active commerce resulting from the preceding factors, natural resources as a basis for industrial development, are all elements of England's history which dominate historic movements. However great may have been the personal factor in English history we shall discover that the men in England who have been great are they who have felt the pulse of earth conditions and have heeded them. A statesman's stock in trade consists in no small part in his geographic knowledge. One could go a great deal farther and show how England's environment has entered into her racial psychology, into her philosophy, and into her artistic creations.

Another way in which historic problems have a geographic approach is through a study of climate fluctuations. There have been five or six advances of the glacial ice in the Pleistocene Period, and the last retreat is not yet accomplished. Lower the temperature of North America 10 degrees and the ice would slowly but surely come back. Indeed we are not over the ice age yet; witness the glaciers of the world. In the fourteenth century there was an approach to glacial conditions in a period of great storminess which coincided with, if it was not caused by, a concentration of sunspots. The storminess which is now confined to the polar margins and which

there overwhelms civilization, spread down over Europe until the northern half of the continent suffered a great depression and an approach to glacial conditions. We are reminded by Ellsworth Huntington that it was at this period that the ice drift came down so as to cut off communication between Greenland and the Norse country, and the Greenland colony died, mainly from exposure, but also was literally pushed into the sea by the advancing ice. Crops failed in Norway and wheat was imported into all of northern Europe. Europe's coldest period was from 1313-1324. This incidentally was the period when the Caspian expanded most rapidly and when the annular rings of the big trees in California showed by their width a period of great rainfall. Horses and men crossed the Baltic on ice. The Rhine, Danube, Thames, and Po all froze for weeks and months at a time. Though the years of 1296, 1306, and 1408 were years of great cold, variations and extremes of all sorts occurred. In the century 55 summers saw violent floods, and the cathedral at Mayence was submerged, *usque ad cingulum hominis*. There were 19 unparalleled storms on the Baltic. Because of all this climatic disturbance, the famines of 1315, 1316, 1321, 1351, and 1369 occurred and people ate roots, horses, and dogs. The black death, Asiatic cholera, and the Athenian plague existed, and there were killed 13,000,000 in China, and the population of France and England was reduced by one-third.

Now at the present time there is to the north of us a belt too stormy for any great civilization. At the edge of this stormy belt there is an optimum condition of temperature, humidity, and variability of climate which creates a just sufficient adversity and a proper stimulation for the advance of civilization. It has been carefully studied by Huntington from the efficiency records of factory output under varying weather conditions and from examinations of our military and naval academies, just what the most favorable climatic conditions are for mental and physical activities. A map of the distribution of climatic energy most accurately coincides with the distribution of civilization in the world today. Japan, the northern United States, England, and Germany all share in this belt. New Zealand and Australia with their advanced ideas of government represent the belt of the southern hemisphere. In the fourteenth century during the period of overwhelming storminess in northern Europe there must have been a margin of this belt where the adversity and variability was just sufficient to stimulate a civilization. It has been thought, but I offer these matters at their face value, that the optimum conditions existed in Italy. At any rate permit me to remind you that Dante wrote his Divine Comedy in the years from 1300 to 1310. You will remember that Giovanni and Andrea Pisano, Giotto, Fra Angelico and Botticelli were the predecessors of Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo. I do not explain the genius of these men in terms of temperature, humidity, and variability of climate, but one may be lead to suspect that Italy today holds potential

da Vincis and Angelos who through lack of stimulus are wasting their creative genius merely sitting in the sun.

There are a few very general examples of the relation of geography to history. It must be apparent that history must look to geography for many of their solutions. I hasten to state that, as well, human geography owes everything to history. I need hardly speak to a group of historians of the importance of this relationship. Men from Hippocrates and Strabo on down have developed the idea. In this connection you are reminded of the names of Buckle (in spite of his over-generalization) Montesquieu, Giddings, Kidd, and Maine. Koller in his *Theory of Environment* has literally hundreds of references to men who have developed this idea of the *milieu*. Therefore, I shall not go farther today, but shall speak of matters which have to do with the teaching of history and research.

Physically the world is divided into natural regions. A natural region is an area wherein either some dominant physical control, or, what is more likely, a complex of controls, gives character to the region and exerts a common influence upon its people. These areas are social provinces as well as physical ones, and either as provinces of a nation or as basis for a nation itself have played a great part in human evolution. Royce writes that a province "shall mean any part of a national domain which is geographically and socially sufficiently unified to have a true consciousness of unity, to feel a pride in its own ideals and customs, and to possess a sense of distinction from other parts of the country."

This brings me to my point—political boundaries versus natural boundaries in history teaching. Physical regions because of their resultant provincialism are logical units. Flanders, for instance, is naturally a whole. True, the Belgians have spread on to the Ardennes-Eifel uplands and the French hold the western part of the Flanders Basin, but the historian cannot help but find common historical, social, and economic problems wherever is found the Flanders clay. The culture of these Flemish cities had a unity which resembled that culture of another group of cities, those on the alluvial plains of the Po. On the other hand, the Scandinavian Peninsula has an apparent degree of unity and isolation. But the ideas and customs of the Norwegians living on the fog-drenched, forbidding fiord coast with its maritime climate and separated from the gentler forest-covered Swedish coast with its severe continental climate have less in common with Swedish life than has Sweden with the southern shores of the Baltic. On the basis of climate in the main and on other geographic factors one has much less reason to make Scandinavia a unit for study than the Baltic, this in spite of the temporary union of Norway and Sweden, a union which, primarily for geographic reasons, did not last. Western Tennessee and Western Kentucky have much more in common from the point of view of economic and social history than have Western and Eastern Kentucky. The physical region is the

true unit by which to study men. I appreciate that there are certain difficulties in studying the history of physical divisions instead of political ones. But to understand the sectional tendencies of a political unit we should know what are the characteristics of the physical sections, how their politics and economics have developed, and why. And to know what are the historical tendencies of the Kentucky mountains one should consider the mountain group as a whole, no matter how many political boundaries are crossed. It cannot but seem to the geographer that only after the historical tendencies of physical divisions are established is one ready to enter upon the intricacies of intersectional relations within a political unit.

For this reason it would appear pedagogically correct that a student taking a course in the history of the United States, for example, should know the physiography, climate, resources, position, and not least, the place geography of the country and its natural regions before proceeding to its history. My own confusion concerning the campaigns of the Civil War, though still great, became less chaotic only after I learned something of the physiography of the lines of march and the economic sympathies of the people of the various sections. One cannot appreciate the history of our tariffs until the climates, crops, resources, and positions of the different regions of the country are known and appreciated. Indeed, even then the matter may not be lucid. History is made more intelligible through geography because that later science so frequently furnished the *raison d'être*.

It may seem that I believe all history to be explained by geography. On the contrary, there is the personal factor, the whim or obsession of the mind, the element of genius or generalship which leads a people to prosperity or destruction. But, after all acknowledgments are made, history does not so much occur on the earth as from the earth, and where the purely racial factors predominate they do so in spite of the earth, and are, in a way, exceptions to the orderly progress of things.

That geography be made a complement of history is in line with the new spirit in elementary education. If the idea that the child learns most by reasoning things out for himself is to be carried into the elementary teaching of history, then we must go back to the causes for things—and that would be, to my perhaps prejudiced mind, to so large a degree pure geography that I would not dare express the percentage except in a family of geographers. The mere enumeration of geographic factors in history in a paragraph in the introduction of a text book is not enough. The fundamental factors should be brought out clearly in every step of the study, for it is only in that way that the orderly sequence of cause and effect is to be patent to the elementary student in so large and confusing a study as history. But before the teacher is ready to do this there is the prerequisite of geographic training. Geography is a science which,

though dealing with every-day phenomena, has technicalities which are by no means simple or well-known. The range of these technicalities is too great to more than suggest in an hour. Certain generalities are common knowledge, as "a long arm weakens authority," or "barriers tend to differentiate." But on the other hand, such matters as the political, social and economic geography of mountain areas that should be taken into account in the history of every mountain group, cannot be understood, much less taught, until one appreciates the different types of mountains. A mountain group formed by stream erosion of a high plateau, to select from a score of types, is sure to have people of different mental attributes and customs of life than an alpine group which has been modified by glaciation. The former is a clannish, feud people who are backward in every way except in the development of a strong loyalty to the people of their own valley. Scotland and the Cumberland Mountains are examples. The alpine people is frequently a progressive one of limited but significant resources who develop ideas of communism and who have in their country certain industrial and commercial possibilities not given to the first group. Switzerland and Norway are examples. Or again, that California has a weak temperature gradient has been a strong point in her provincialism. The fact that from north to south there is little change in temperature has bound the state together; whereas on the Atlantic coast there is a strong temperature gradient with the result that Florida and New York have decidedly different histories and a great interchange of products. The details of soil properties interprets much in history, for they were effective in the divisions of the Kylon Revolution in Greece before the Christian Era and they are significant today in the contrasted social conditions of southeastern Ohio with the rest of the state. Masters such as deforestation are freely used by historians as in explaining the downfall of Greece and Rome, but the true import of the matter is not as simple as it appears. These are the types of historical questions whose solution requires definite training.

I should hesitate to say what I believe the geographic training of an historian should be, for fear of sounding preposterous. I venture to say that the more a historian knew of geography the more nearly he would agree with me. But I am certain that every student in history should take somewhere early in his sequence of studies a course in the introduction to geography, to be followed by regional courses covering his special country or continent. Departments of economics the country over are requiring, and in many cases teaching, courses in economic geography. Departments in history should require, and if necessary teach, historical geography. This presupposes a more extensive course of training for the teacher. But it appears necessary when we see such statements as that made by one historian that the unchangeableness of India was due to her

warm, moist, enervating climate, and of another that the East Indians' highly wrought imagination is due to the presence of mountains. It is probable that neither are right. In any case there are far more significant factors in the physical geography than either of them pointed out, and it is likely that they did not even know of their existence.

It is interesting to look into the question of the extent to which historical research may be made systematic. Certainly it is difficult to be systematic in the pursuit of racial or individual factors. In spite of the great interest in the psychology of peoples, descriptions of mental attributes lead one to no definite goal, for after all the matter is not one that can be proved. When one man says the Celt is "a gentle obstinate"—he would perhaps leave off the "gentle" today,—while another ascribes to him "an indomitable passion for danger and adventure," we are left with no gain other than the face value of the two remarks. Only if we remember that physical environment has to an extent circumscribed his ideas, are we approaching anything definite. Only if we look to the physical causes of history, can we begin to classify after the manner of scientists. Such simple facts as rivers, marshes, mountains, and seas strike a profound note in history. History as merely a chronicle of the vagrancies of the human mind is scarcely a science. History as an ecological study is a science of philosophic depth.

Why not have more comparative history? Do not large islands have certain elements in common, as do deserts the world over, regions of jungle forests, articulated coast lines, and enclosed seas? Could not one give a tremendously illuminating history of plateau peoples? Are not such titles as the Political History of Plains or the Social History of Soil Zones of significance? A history which stands on my desk has such chapter headings as Zones of Climate and Culture, The Highlander in History, and Concommittants of Tillage Civilization.

I am of the belief that once historians are fully acquainted with the potentialities of geography in historical research there will be great danger in their enthusiasm carrying them to conclusions which are too optimistic for the accuracy of the statements. If there are any among you who are inclined to be skeptical it would be good for your science to remain so, so great, I believe, is to be the rush toward geographic influences in history as causal relations that you will be needed as counterbalance to retard the great swing of the pendulum.

There are a number of references in which I know you will be interested. Read John Fiske on the "Evolution of Society" in volume three of *The Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*. For a complete bibliography of the development of the *milieu* see Koller's *The Theory of Environment*. Semple's *Influences of Geographic Environment* is a

masterpiece of anthropogeography. *The Processes of History* by Teggert and "The Geographic Spirit" in Brunhes' *Human Geography* have inspired much of what I have said. Ward's *Climate, Especially in Relation to Man* is the best thing in its line. An example of history pitifully lacking in geographic interpretation is the recent *Outline of History* by Wells. My idea of history properly treated is Parkman's *The Old Regime*, Fiske's *The Discovery of America*, Geppert's *Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West*, and Breasted's *The History of the Ancient Egyptians*.

HUMANIZING HISTORICAL METHOD

By H. C. HUBBERT

Ohio Wesleyan University

That the social studies, History, Economics, Political Science, and Sociology, have been enjoying a revival in our day in and out of our universities is evident on all sides. The older humanities, Greek, Latin, and Mathematics, subordinated first to physical science and technical and professional studies, were to be further subordinated to the social sciences. History in recent years has been expanding and taking on new forms; Political Philosophy has become Political Science and has received great impetus from reform movements, revolutions, and all varieties of constitution-making and legislative experiments; Economics in an age of industrialism and class struggle has become popular and taken many forms ranging from radical economic thought to that devoted to "business as usual." The new science of Sociology has grown up rapidly. Many other influences, such as modern social unrest, race and national antagonism, and the World War, have contributed to this great interest. At last it would seem that the proper study of mankind is becoming man. However far, in the past, our interest in man lagged behind our interest in nature, mechanical processes and material wealth, today there is much less disparity. The newer humanities are here. It is in truth a Renaissance.

Moreover, the new studies had at hand what was thought to be an adequate research tool and a scientific method. It can hardly be denied that the historical method, having its origin in German scholarship in History, Folk-lore, and Philology, and reaching out into other fields, has achieved great results.

Becoming critical and objective under the influence of Ranke's ideal of adhering strictly to documents and facts, it was used with great effect in transforming historical writing, in rescuing Economics and Political Science from eighteenth-century abstractions, in instigating the higher criticism and even invading Holy Writ, in tearing off the glamor and romance of the past and inaugurating the new realism in which we live, and, coupled with ideas of social evolution which derived impetus from Darwinism, in revolutionizing social investigation, and in fact almost all branches of research. Though, as with Wordsworth, growing out of the glamor of childhood, "there hath passed away a glory from the earth," who can complain since a new scientific ideal, the historical method of arriving at truth has appeared! It was a method worthy of a great cause, and aroused great enthusiasm; little notice was taken of a possibility of it becoming in the hands of amateurish or over-methodical historical students, mechanical and

pedantic, and of its producing works which, though valuable as preliminary investigations, could not be called histories.

But the enthusiasm for the social studies takes on an even more pronounced form. It is escaping from the university quadrangles and from professional ranks and getting out among the people. The political and social reformers, liberals in America like Croly and Weyl, radicals in Europe, British Labor Party publicists and novelists take up the cause. Theological schools turn out social writers and professors of History and Sociology rather than ministers of the Gospel in the accepted sense. A sense of social mission and religious intensity is added. The historical method is invoked to make democracy real; or to lay out a historical basis for a new social and world order; or to give historical dignity and literary prestige to labor movements; or to bring about a return to the international ideals of the Middle Ages, to medieval pluralism and the guild system; or to save a world in agony. Such objects as these the intruders in our chosen field set as their goal. They are joined by heretics in our ranks, Robinsons, Beards, Veblens, and English social historians like Tawney and Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Producing histories and social studies that people actually read, they nevertheless speak with some authority. Some of them write in terms of life and death that fit in well with the desperate present-day conditions and moods. They see in History a perilous common adventure of mankind, rather than a field for the exercise of prosaic historical method; they call it a race between education and catastrophe; they trace the historical forces that have made our present industrialism a veritable nemesis and our society sick with acquisitiveness; they tell the story of our mind in the making and show our savage and medieval inheritance and the inadequacies of our mental outlook, calling upon us to rise to creative intelligence and solve our problems. They relate themselves better than we do to the newer studies of human nature, social psychology, and cultural forces and in some respects appear more scientific than we.

The younger American historical students, though remaining loyal to the Americal Historical Association, look longingly their way. But the professional and methodical among us think that the field of scholarship is no place for moral earnestness and social idealism. Such immediate and humanitarian purposes do not pertain to the historian; this is a new *Tendenz-Geschichte*; historical and social materials should not be used by such breeds of Gentiles without the law and diverted to their purposes. We proscribe such intrusion as the scholastic usually proscribes the humanist. These novelists like Wells, these historical artists and cartoonists like Van Loon, these comeouter historians, these Laskis, are guilty of both misappropriating and misinterpreting. The Renaissance in the social studies is no longer safe and sane; it is getting out of the hands of its friends; this is outlandish and unprofessional!

Without at this juncture directing our attention further to this diverting tendency in our midst, but merely alluding to it as an extreme form of our present enthusiasm, let us examine the revival in its more substantial aspects.

Now much has been claimed for the cultural value of the social studies in their newer forms. Dean Haskins of Harvard says: "The newer humanities are properly called the newer humanities because they supply a humane and liberal culture (*humanitas*). They occupy a central position intermediate between the older humanities on the one hand and the natural sciences on the other. Their subject matter is human, their method scientific. . . . The classics are losing their hold; it is History and the social sciences that offer the chief opportunity for giving that background and breadth of view."

I offer in opposition to Dean Hoskins, Professor Robinson's statement that there is a certain unreality in the work of many historical students, that they often study man's past and miss man. Is their method, though scientific in the methodological sense, scientific in the sense of including all of the data and factors? Do they give in a large sense background and breadth of view? Do not we historians have yet to earn the title of newer humanists? Does not our cultural equipment and intellectual outlook and even the material we select from the vast mass, lack a certain necessary *humanitas*? I ask this, realizing fully the great emphasis that has been placed in recent years on social and economic history.

Now what is the spirit of humanism? One definition, perhaps the older, is more literary in nature. The humanist, originally defined as a man who sought an outlet for his intellectual and aesthetic interests in the freedom and vitality of the revived Greek and Latin literature as distinct from medieval theology and scholasticism, has more recently been defined as the man who finds "delight in the free play of his mind among ideas that are stimulating and beautiful." With the coming in of modern natural science he has been distinguished from the naturalist. It might be said today that those whose chief interest is in the social, the mind of man, "human nature," in its newer psychological meanings, may be called humanists; those to whom, as to Terence, nothing human is a matter of indifference.

If we look for literary humanism in our historical output, it is not easy to find. How much do we see the spirit of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, of Jules Jusserand and James Harvey Robinson? We seek and find little of the urbanity of spirit of Horace, the "give and take of civilized intercourse, the adjustment of common sense and right feeling." The humanist, though distrustful of mechanical changes and abrupt revolutions, of "system and system-mongers," is in a tactful, sensitive, and urbane manner, essentially radical. On the other hand he is keenly aware of the contribution of the past and the best that conservatism has to offer, having a "sympathy with man and his work—with the beautiful and imperfect things he has made."

Not argumentative or coldly rational and methodical, he all along has a feeling for the adventurous, the mysterious, and romantic in life. He does not attempt to analyze too far. Is this the spirit of the graduate seminar? The historian often lacks the humanist's knowledge of literature as the best mirror of any age, as enduring and as essentially human as social institutions and much more so than constitutional forms, economic institutions, or the squabbles of politicians which even yet constitute so much History. Then there is in the humanist a religious sympathy and a sense of humor.

This spirit can greatly aid us in our work. The historian adhering strictly to method, to document, to bibliography and isolated fact, becomes too formal. He is tempted to show all his wares; his method becomes an end in itself; he follows Ranke too far and ends by being purely matter-of-fact. He is in danger of becoming one of those "system and system-makers" who, according to Matthew Arnold, should be assigned a "smaller share in the bent of human destiny." Our scientific social studies are apt to be harsh and formal in tone; "our dissertations, documents, protocols, and treaties" as Paul Shorey says, lack the saving touch of humanism. They need to be retouched by a sense of the imaginative and mysterious, the imperfect, the relative, and the comic. It is said that Van Loon's Story of Mankind with its humorous vein is a good corrective of the serious rationalism and propagandism of Wells' Outline of History. Woodrow Wilson, speaking for humanity in the latter days of the war and before the confusions of Versailles and of bitter partisan politics, spoke as Paul Shorey again says, not as the trained historian and political scientist that he was, but as the humanist, the devotee of "mere literature." This spirit softens and takes rough edges from our work; it subordinates method and material and seeks to create impressions.

It would help to restrain us from going too far in classifying men and movements, in analyzing so-called social forces and pointing out causes and effects, leaving out as we often do details that do not fit into our scheme. It would help to remove the impression that so much historical work has conveyed since the newer methods of research and interpretation have come in, that feeling of *post hoc* rather than *in medias res*. Let me quote from that stimulating little weekly, *The Villager*, as it comments on this tendency in history writing: "The Age of Steamshovels set out to show Herodotus a thing or two; the Sophisticated Age would demonstrate to its own glory, the naïveté of the detail-mongers; it would discover the plan of things; it classified men and events with superb confidence. . . . James Ford Rhodes says, 'if we were to ask all the history readers and history writers in all centuries whom they consider the best historians, the choice would undoubtedly fall between Thucydides and Tacitus.' The old historians were inaccurate, they knew nothing of 'forces,' psychology, and cotton-gins . . . yet they imparted an impression of life with blood in its veins and through the centuries no one has mistrusted

the impression. . . . Rhodes himself is more interested in facts than in what he thinks about the facts, and consequently to read through his magnificent volumes is almost to live through the time of which he writes; there is no disturbing sense of *post hoc*: the feeling is a feeling of *in medias res*. . . . The past five years have made all open-minded, sane men realize that world movements cannot be comprehended in a tidy summary or an arbitrary judgment; keenly they recognize that the world does not advance logically and lucidly in one direction, but goes rolling and tumbling along and will not be held by a theory; . . . in the coming time the public will compel its historians to set out life for it, life like its own, full, confused, mysterious, and real." Few, if any of us, would follow *The Villager* all the way in this analysis of our defects of method and interpretation, but such criticisms merit attention.

We may ask further whether the new *Kultur-Geschichte* will ever develop without a greater realization of the need of the humanistic spirit. Most attempts of historians to trace intellectual and culture movements are superficial. They deal with political and perhaps economic development and do lip service to the new culture history by adding a page or two at the end of the chapter with the names of authors and their works. The historian of New England could draw on and relate his work much more than he does to the literature of that section, the works of Mather, Edwards and Channing, Hawthorne's novels, Emerson's higher thought, and the work of the poets. Henry Adams' *Education of Henry Adams*, with its story of the transition from the old to the new in American life—from what he calls the unity of the old Republican aristocracy to the confusing multiplicity of the new turbulent democracy—as well as his other historical and humanistic work, might well become a model for the historians of the future. Most of us, however, pass it over as "mere literature." How could we better describe the American democracy in its early years, the Western Movement in America, the exaltation of the average man, his individualism and contempt for culture, the boasting and self-confident Westerner, than by supplementing Turner's admirable investigations with the works of Thoreau and Walt Whitman, the Americanized romanticism of Mark Twain's Western novels, Bret Harte's ruffians made into heroes, Booth Tarkington's pictures of mid-Western virtue? These men picture in literature, as Turner does in History, the "apotheosis of the average man," the great destiny of the Westerner, his democracy almost automatically fulfilling itself and transforming all American life. And such a representation is true to the spirit of the common man East and West in all the period from Jackson to 1900. But neither the common man nor his historical and literary biographers realized how great was the illusion. The awakening came about 1900. In turn how better could Paxson treat the period of restlessness and protest among these same average Westerners before and since that date, than by

supplementing his likewise admirable studies of political movements and agrarian discontent with the literature of protest that has come from that same mid-Western region in recent years, the so-called "revolt of the village?" This is the protest of that same average man, as Professor Sherman says in the November Atlantic (1922), against the cultural and spiritual poverty of the many million descendants of Turner's frontier democrats. They find that they have lands, Fords, and at times a good price for wheat, but they are not satisfied. Here while the historian is turning to political and farmer movements almost exclusively, the literary artist is looking deeper into life and is more nearly the realist. The History of the America of recent years lacks the note of this revolt, struck by the many Main Streets that have been written. For the South before the Civil War it must be said that there has been a more definite attempt made by Dodd, Rhodes, and others to connect History with life and literature.

It is perhaps the so-called liberals among us—and most historians are "liberal"—who need this spirit most. It is easily seen that the conservative is apt to be more humanistic, to have his personality more softened by acquaintance with the literature, art, and religion of the past. The liberal is apt to be more bourgeois and matter-of-fact. It is, on the other hand, not realized how much the radical of today is being molded by humanism. There is a possibility that the radical will rival the conservative in this respect and that both will leave far behind the phlegmatic, practical liberal. The radical schools of economic, social, historical thought in more than one country have not only their own libraries of radical economic and social studies, their own histories, but are allied with distinct literary and aesthetic movements. The labor parties, the Fabian Socialists, have not only their Coles and Tawneys, but their novelists, dramatists, and poets like Wells and Shaw. Most of the new literary movements in America are associated with radical political ideas. It seems quite possible that the radical movement will develop a literary culture of an altogether remarkable nature, indeed that the prevailing literature of our period will be of this type and we will face the paradox of a radical literary culture imposed on a conservative society. What we liberal historians need is an acquaintance with the classical literature as well as the literature of social analysis and social reform which almost every period of history has bequeathed us. It may be that the spirit of revolt in modern society needs just such co-ordination with the past, just such stabilizing and humanizing as would come from such an acquaintance with literature. The same influence that would soften and refine historical method would deprive radicalism of its doctrinaire and absolute tendency. It may be true that, as Walt Whitman believed, our democratic ideals will not be achieved until we get a democratic culture, a democratized literature and art, as well as a democratized politics and industry. The newer humanities must bring the common man a message, not only of the possible achievement of

political rights and economic opportunity, but of the common literary heritage of the race. Who could help the poet and writer accomplish this more than the historian?

But it is obvious that few historians have any such equipment as this. Few realize the need. Most of us are distinctly amateurish and lacking in this type of humanism, ripened thought and acquaintance with the literature and spirit of man through the ages. History should be, like Philosophy, a science of the mature mind, deep reflection and broad observation. Judged by this standard most of us are not historians, but merely investigators and collectors of data. I ask; should we seek so ardently to put our half-baked wares on the market? Is not one of the defects of modern historical work the desire of young investigators to get into print, as well as the desire of some of the older, as Beard says, classical school to put more books of the old kind on the market? Should not we be rather assistants or apprentices, write our monographs and turn them over to one of the few masters to blend into a body of mature historical work? The note of humanism must be struck if only to enrich historical content; it surely must be if History hopes to retain literary prestige. It has always been considered a branch of literature, but the so-called scientific method threatens to rob it of this tone. The feat of combining the humanistic and methodical, though very difficult, is not impossible to accomplish; perhaps in America Robinson, Becker, Adams, and others have done it in greater or less degree.

A practical suggestion which I might make here is that in our colleges and universities, courses in European History and Culture should be emphasized more than they are now. Richer cultural and religious material as well as social and economic is found there than in the field of American History. Some of the too numerous courses in American History in the undergraduate school might be displaced by courses of this kind.

To pursue our subject further would lead us to ask the question, is History humanistic, not in the literary sense, but in the sense of social and democratic interest, in the sense of reflecting real life, in the sense of revealing the newer human nature and behavior as defined by the new psychology. Here I suggest that we lag behind Sociology, Economics, and Political Science. I do not here refer only to their greater interest in social and humanitarian reform and in current problems of citizenship and government. In this field, also, they seem more humanized, but we comfort ourselves by pointing out that they deal with and hence are more interested in present-day matters. A great economist recently said that if the social studies are to be socialized, that is, made available for the teaching of citizenship and the social point of view and used as a background for social reform, it would be Economics, Sociology, and Political Science that would have to lead the way, that History and history teachers were

hopelessly unsocialized. He no doubt exaggerates, but we do, in fact, lay ourselves open to this charge. This is not a plea for a cheap emphasis on current or recent history, but is rather a suggestion that our work in the past will be enriched by a keen interest in the present.

Difficult for the American mind to understand as the Italian Croce's philosophy of history is, I am beginning to understand what he means by the paradoxical expression that "all history is contemporary history." It is clear that our interest in all the past has been greatly increased by our interest in the present brought about by the World War. We must realize that history is a great adventure, past and present, and its presentation and interpretation needs light from all angles. I suggest that coming generations will know our present hardly better than we ourselves can know. I do not trust the historian of the future to tell our descendants more of the present than we can gain today by living intensely in the present age and by reading the better-class periodicals and books on recent and current history. What the historian of the future will gain by having a better perspective and a few more documents, he will lose by missing what we call the spirit of the age, the subtle thought currents of which we for the first time as students of society seem to be becoming conscious.

History can further be enriched and made more real by relating it more closely to the other social sciences. These studies are, in spite of our attempts to separate them, a unit, and History is the mother of them all. These studies are appropriating the newer emphasis upon human traits, institutions, and social psychology much more than is history. The historian with his mind fixed upon the concrete fact can learn much from the sociologist's general social concepts. The human nature element in Economics and Politics is receiving attention in a special sense.

Particularly I might suggest the great changes of interpretation in History that might come if we were better acquainted with such interesting and historically rich studies as those that have been and are being made by the Political Scientists and Constitutional Historians, Laski, Figgis, and Maitland on Pluralism and the Pluralistic State. Their theories come directly from Medieval and Church History and yet very few are the historians who seem much impressed by them. They present a most unusual and compelling interpretation of History and present society on the basis of the pluralistic state, calling for a subordination of the national state and the individual, the two primary factors in modern historical writing, from the high place they have held, and the greater recognition of groups, institutions, churches, city, states, universities, guilds, labor unions, and a dozen other units. This they would say is a key to the study of the past and to the problem of social adjustment today. Anticipating the

historian they point out that the present absolute state with its centralization and intensified nationalism has been a comparatively recent development and that the primary human nature groups will assert themselves and that History should be rewritten along this line. What conquests Pluralism will make in the various fields of the social studies it would be difficult to estimate.

Historians should each year lay aside their researches and read in the other fields and go back refreshed and with new interpretations. We do not know, for instance, domestic or family history; we have left that to the Sociologist. We do not know group or institutional life except in its political or constitutional aspects. We should study them in their traditional, emotional, psychological phases rather than merely their formal organization. In this relation it seems very necessary that we do much more than we have done to promote the generalized study of the social sciences in the colleges. The so-called orientation or gate-way courses have their proper place even though they have their origin in that "War Aims" course of unpleasant memory. We must not let History lose its place as the great synthesizer of the social sciences.

There are other emphases which we must make to which I call only brief attention. We need much more training in intellectual history, the history of group minds, and the mind of the various periods. Few have approached Robinson in his ability to rise above method and material and grasp as a student of mankind the prevailing thought of an age, the deposit of custom, tradition, and conservatism that we get from the past. Our interest in universal history, too, is perforce becoming and should become greater. Here again the historian was slow to perceive the fact. The world scope of events, the co-ordination in the world's life was much greater than the historian recognized until rude tragic events aroused him. Moreover, even a philosophy of history can no longer be frowned upon, as are the philosophies of history written in a day when materials for such history were inadequate and misleading and facts were unknown or disregarded.

In conclusion, though it is admitted that historical method has done much in establishing a wholesome respect for "facts," that a great number of admirable preliminary investigations and collections of data have been produced and that the "New History" of social forces is making its contribution, yet it is doubtful whether more can be accomplished by going on in the same direction. A new kind of fact must be our aim. With the aid that comes from the humanistic, from "man nature" and from any and all of the other social studies, we more nearly arrive at that fact. Thus, though the historian's always be the most difficult, though true History will always be the elusive thing to grasp and reduce to writing, we shall produce, to Croce's expression, "living History" rather than dead chronicle; that sense of unreality of which Robinson complains will be less apparent and History will be more human.

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THE STATE AND HISTORICAL WORK

By CLARENCE E. CARTER
Miami University

History, we are told, is the development of man in his causal relationships. Whatever conventional terminology may be adopted the most obvious fact is that in history we are dealing with the past—with the results of man's activities in the years and ages gone by. Today's morning newspaper is a record, albeit it a poor record, of a set of probably indifferent achievements of the men of yesterday. I need not emphasize this to a body of historians; it is mentioned merely as a point of departure.

But why history? Why historical study in the schools? Why is it written in the books? Why are its sources, its documents, its remains, guarded, occasionally, with such jealous care by the state? History is brought into requisition in order that present day developments may be understood. Without the facts which history supplies as to the road we have traveled to reach a particular stage at present we would be in a blind alley. There are some who believe that we are in such an alley in any case. Nevertheless no well-founded conclusion may be reached by the men of today regarding the drift of things unless the task is illumined by the facts of history. We must have at hand all pertinent information, drawn from every field of activity. Any decision as to what the pertinent facts are cannot be determined until we have all the available sources brought together, and arranged according to the principles of modern scientific historiography. Intelligent action in social, economic, and political affairs can be founded upon no other basis.

The purpose thus suggested represents one phase of a development that has its derivative in ancient times. The ancients were accustomed to sing their songs of heroes—the savage Indians held their war dance in memory of past achievements, that the record of the deeds of their ancestors might impel their children to similar or greater deeds. This instinctive desire to preserve the memory of the past is common to all ages and classes of men, wherever they are gathered in groups. The particular method of preserving this memory of the past has, to be sure, varied from age to age. Today attempts are made to render vivid the social memory through such agencies as memorial days, anniversaries, public ceremonies, festivals, flags, and historical pageants. These are looked upon as vital agencies in the process. Yet they are seldom any more accurate than their primitive prototypes; indeed they are usually misleading. Observing these essentially primitive institutions impresses one, however, with the unity

of past and present. Then there are other more modern and more solid agencies, such as libraries, museums, historical societies and schools of historical research—*institutions which tend to preserve a more accurate memory of the past.* Beginning with a kind of unconscious desire for information, therefore, there has gradually developed a conscious effort to give scientific interpretation to past events in order that present-day conditions may be better understood. This last stage of development is reached only when a people becomes conscious of its own unity and realizes that the past is an essential part of its own consciousness. It is in this stage that people seek to preserve those records from which alone the story of their material and spiritual growth may be woven.

Many outside currents have affected the growth of this last stage. Historical mindedness, as we now understand the term, received its greatest impetus from the natural sciences. Genetic reasoning, already brought into full significance by the natural sciences, became an indispensable element in historical investigation and composition. This was of course a tardy recognition on the part of those concerned with historical knowledge. The evolutionary idea influenced the other social sciences earlier. But although historical students were inexplicably late in adopting the new point of view the present generation has, for the most part, appropriated the scientific method in so far as it is applicable to the subject matter.

But, whatever the influences that have operated in this respect, the fact is outstanding that men are today seeking to find a reason for our present plight—they are attempting to find solutions for present problems with historical information in many cases unavailable or incomplete. There never was a time when historical knowledge was more pertinent for publicists and statesmen than now. But, with all our vaunted development of libraries and museums and schools of research in history, the state has in many instances failed to take steps for the collection and preservation of its essential historical records without which our real history can never be known. In no other way can the men of today and tomorrow and in the years to come reconstruct, with any degree of accuracy, the road along which they have traveled. Unless they visualize that road clearly the problem of the social order cannot be solved with any degree of intelligence.

The American people have been signally tardy in respect to the preservation of their historical sources as compared with European states. In Europe, for more than a century, governments have striven to build up archival centers; they have published, with critical annotations, the fundamental sources illustrative of their history. But the United States and the states of the Union have trailed far behind. It is little short of pathetic to view the failure of the United States government to provide safeguards for the preservation of the national archives. But our dejection in this is tempered somewhat by certain encouraging symptoms to be observed in many of our states.

In some of the states the preservation of historical sources is left largely to private enterprise, with official encouragement. In others there is a combination of private initiative and state aid. In still others the state assumes the entire burden, affording generous financial aid.

There are two or three distinct spheres of activity carried on in those states which have made any degree of progress. There is first the collection, classification, and preservation of the state's archives, local as well as central. By archives of course is understood governmental documents only, such as charters, organic acts, proclamations, constitutions, executive journals, official letter-books, legislative documents, judicial judgments, decrees, and reports by public officers, and the like. The work of the archivist in preserving this type of source is rapidly becoming one of the most important activities in which historical agencies can engage. As will be pointed out presently some of the more progressive states have made definite provision for the care, classification and publication of their official archives.

The second sphere of historical activity in which the state participates is that of collecting and centralizing all other historical records which illustrate the character, standards, ideals, and achievements of its citizens. Collections of family, business, and semi-official papers, the papers of all social and political organizations, church records, newspapers, et cetera, which are usually scattered throughout the state, should be brought together in one great collection. Progress along this line is likewise being made in a number of states.

The third avenue of activity is the publication of the state's archives and other historical sources. I mention this now and will discuss it more concretely in a subsequent paragraph.

In any survey of the organization of state-supported historical work in typical states one meets with many variations. Although we are more concerned with the achievement than with the method, a comparative view of the mechanism in use in different states is interesting and suggestive. In New York the historical work of the state is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education. By an act of 1911, amended in 1913, there were created two divisions of the department to deal specifically with history, namely, the division of public records and the division of history, the heads of the divisions to be known respectively as the supervisor of public records and the state historian. The duty of the supervisor of public records is to examine into the "condition of the records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps, and papers kept, filed, or recorded in the semi-public offices of the counties, cities, towns, villages, or other public divisions of the state." The division of public records is empowered "to take all necessary measures for the proper inscription, the retrieval, the care, and the preservation of all public records in the various political divisions of the state." Various clauses fol-

low which contain detailed provisions as to the care and preservation of the records.

Among the functions of the division of history are the compiling, editing, and preparing for publication "all official records, memoranda, statistics, and data relative to the history of the colony and the State of New York."

In Michigan, a typical middle western state, under a law of 1913, there was created the Historical Commission, which was empowered to take over such property of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society as the latter might convey to the State of Michigan. Among the duties of the Commission are "to collect, arrange, and preserve historical material, including books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, copies of domestic and foreign records and archives, paintings, statuary, and other objects and materials illustrative of and relating to the history of Michigan and the old Northwest Territory; to procure and preserve narratives of the early pioneers, their exploits, perils, privations, and achievements; to collect, prepare, and display in the museum of said commission objects indicative of the life, customs, dress, and resources of the early residents of Michigan, and to publish material relative to and illustrative of the history of the state, including such material as may be furnished for that purpose by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and local societies of similar nature and purpose."

That seems pretty comprehensive. But the commission is likewise to assume charge of the state's archives. In section 5 we read that "the Commission shall have power, and it is hereby made the duty of all public officials to assist in the performance of this power, to collect from the public officers in the state, including state, county, city, village, and township offices, such records, files, documents, books, and papers as are not less than thirty years old, and are not in current use, and are, in the opinion of the Commission, valuable only for historical purposes; and it is hereby made the legal custodian of such records, files, documents, books, and papers when collected and transferred to its possession. The Commission shall provide for their preservation, classification, arranging and indexing so that they may be made available for the use of the public."

Moreover, it is made the duty of the Commission to prepare for publication such material as is judged suitable for that purpose. There follow general specifications relative to the publishing phase. Thus the Michigan Historical Commission is in reality a Department of Archives and History.

In North Carolina we find a similar arrangement, while in Alabama, Mississippi, West Virginia, and Indiana, we have a distinct Department of Archives and History, with a single head. In the last named there is also a State Historical Commission, charged with the publication of material. In Iowa there is a State Historical Department, with a Curator in charge of the archives and other papers at

the capital of the state. Then there is in addition the State Historical Society of Iowa which functions in somewhat the same way as the Wisconsin Historical Society and the Minnesota Historical Society in collecting historical records of all sorts, exclusive of official state records, and in carrying on publishing activities.

In Illinois there is yet a different system. The work of collecting historical material and caring for the state's archives is under the control of the Board of Trustees of the State Historical Library, which does not function as a part of the State Historical Society. The work of collecting and publishing the state's historical records is also under the immediate control of this Board of Trustees of the Historical Library. This is a small body of three, and it is advised by another group known as the Historical Advisory Commission, consisting of ten or a dozen of the more prominent historical scholars of the state. The actual work is then placed in the hands of an expert historical editor, who is made responsible for this phase of the work.

I have described briefly the organization of historical work in a few typical states. What has been said of these can be said in varying degree of many other states. I do not desire to be facetious on an occasion of this sort, but I should be derelict in my duty if I omitted Ohio from this survey. I shall quote herewith the single Ohio law relating to the preservation and publication of its history.

"An Act to empower County Commissioners to pay for securing and publishing historical data." (Laws of Ohio, house bill No. 338, p. 755, approved May 6, 1913.) This act provides that any body of county commissioners may aid 'an historical or pioneer association, incorporated not for profit,' in 'collecting, compiling, and publishing in pamphlet or book form papers, memoranda, and data of historical value, together with the regular proceedings of such incorporation, not exceeding \$100 in any one year.' Well might we add "Oh charity, draw thy curtain."

Ohio, one of the most populous states—one of the wealthiest in material resources—one of the richest in historical associations and experiences, allows its records to lie—rotting, perishing from the ravages of fire, rodents, carelessness, ignorance, et cetera. Ohio's historical records, be it said, have not all succumbed to the ravages of time. Many have been saved by neighboring states, such as Wisconsin, whose State Historical Society has a better collection of historical material on Ohio than can be found anywhere within the limits of the state itself. But something can be saved. The archival material, state, county, and local, lies in undisturbed dust, ready for the consuming flames of a series of conflagrations. The lessons of New York, with its capital fire, of Missouri, with its capital fire, of the dominion of Canada, with its parliament fire, of the procession of county court-house fires all over the land, seem not to have stirred the imagination of the people of the State of Ohio. What I say of Ohio can be said also of the State of Kentucky, a state equally rich

in historical associations. These two wayward incorrigibles of the Ohio valley, and of the whole middle western country, are practically alone at the present time in their neglect of this very important function of state action.

I have contrasted the organization of historical work in a number of states which indicates something of the progress that has been made. Still more illuminating is a comparative statement of expenditures in certain typical states—Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Michigan, Kansas, and Ohio. In Illinois the appropriation for two years for historical work alone, which does not include archives, for which I have no statement, is \$86,000, or \$43,000 per annum. This comprises such items as \$16,000 per annum for personal service, including salaries of editor of publications, librarian, and other members of the historical staff; \$1000 per year for travel; \$12,500 per year for publication of historical collections; \$12,500 per year for war history. These figures are impressive, and to those of us who during the past fifteen years have watched the progress of the Illinois work it is apparent that results of great importance have been achieved. In Iowa the State Historical Society, which, again, does not deal with archives, but only with the work of collecting non-archival material, its arrangement, classification, and publication, expects to spend \$47,370 during the coming year. Its total estimated income will be \$56,970. The appropriation for publication of historical material will run to \$14,600; for personal service, \$24,140; for research \$11,740. As has already been suggested there is also the State Department of History, located at the capital of the state, which has a separate appropriation for the maintenance of the archival work and likewise for publication. In Minnesota the total state appropriation for the work of the State Historical Society is \$40,000. Add to this the income from private funds, amounting to \$11,800, making a total of \$51,800, and we have a standard with which to measure the value which Minnesota places upon the preservation of the state's history. The budget of the Michigan Historical Commission, which, as has already been pointed out, forms a state department of archives and history, is \$40,450 for the year 1923-1924. This includes \$17,000 for personal service or salaries, and between \$10,000 and \$15,000 for publishing activities. In Kansas the legislature appropriates \$17,400 per annum for the State Historical Society, which comprises the archives. Of the list so far Kansas is considerably below her neighboring states. But let us note the situation in Ohio. Here the total appropriation for the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society is \$38,245 per annum. But this does not tell the whole story. This is in the first place divided between archaeology and history. In the next place \$13,500 is appropriated for the printing of the reports of the Society for the benefit of members of the legislature. To use the exact phraseology of the law: "Publishing archaeological and historical reports—to be prorated among the legislative districts of the state to be distributed to schools and

libraries designated by members of the general assembly." Whether this foolish, naive provision was designed to provoke the serious to laughter I am not competent to determine. It is only fair to say that the Archaeological and Historical Society was in no way responsible for the insertion of such a sinister clause. The true measure of the situation for history in Ohio is seen by noting certain individual items. The total personal service budget for the historical staff is \$6300; the total for publication is \$3000, divided between history and archaeology. This does not take into account the \$13,500 for the publication of additional copies of the reports for political distribution, which is pure waste of the state's money and adds nothing whatsoever to the achievements of the society. It is needless to say that no provision is made for the care and preservation of the state and local records of the state's service in the late war. The latter is an object that practically every other state in the Union has long since attained.

Here, then, is a state which has done nothing and which consequently has an immense task ahead of it, both with reference to the preservation and classification of its archives, and to its other historical sources. It is not within the province of this paper to suggest definitely an ideal machinery of organization for the future administration of the state's historical interests. In some states existing organizations have been used as a basis upon which to build—in others entirely new departments have been created as we have seen. Here, in Ohio are two institutions, the State Library, and the State Archaeological and Historical Society. Whatever function these or either of them should perform in the process of collecting and arranging the state's historical materials it is not for me to suggest. Certainly the Archaeological and Historical Society could easily be made, in view of its location and interests, the central repository for the historical material of the state, including the archives.

But that phase of the problem can be attacked with more intelligence after the other organization has been perfected. It seems to the writer, and I believe that those present will agree, that whether the state society assumes this burden, as it properly should, or not, there should be created a State Historical Commission, a small body of three or five, which would assume control of all the state's historical interests, archival and historical collections proper. Such a commission can easily make such a line of demarcation as may seem wise between the archival or public records department, the historical manuscript department and the editorial and publishing department. As we have noted heretofore some states prefer the single-headed department of archives and history. In others we find a much more intricate mechanism, which lacks symmetry. In others the State Historical Society, with a Superintendent, assumes charge of the whole. But conditions vary in different states. In this state, as in Kentucky, I think there are certain other ancient and honorable his-

torical societies and institutions, whose resources could perhaps be drawn upon more easily and whose co-operation could be more readily secured through the agency of some such co-ordinating body as the state historical commission. The co-operative effort of all historical scholars in the state is an absolutely essential element. The personal question must not be allowed to enter as a factor. I would propose further that absolutely no step be taken toward the rehabilitation of historical work in the state without the active advice of a still larger historical commission composed of the professional historical scholars from different sections of the commonwealth.

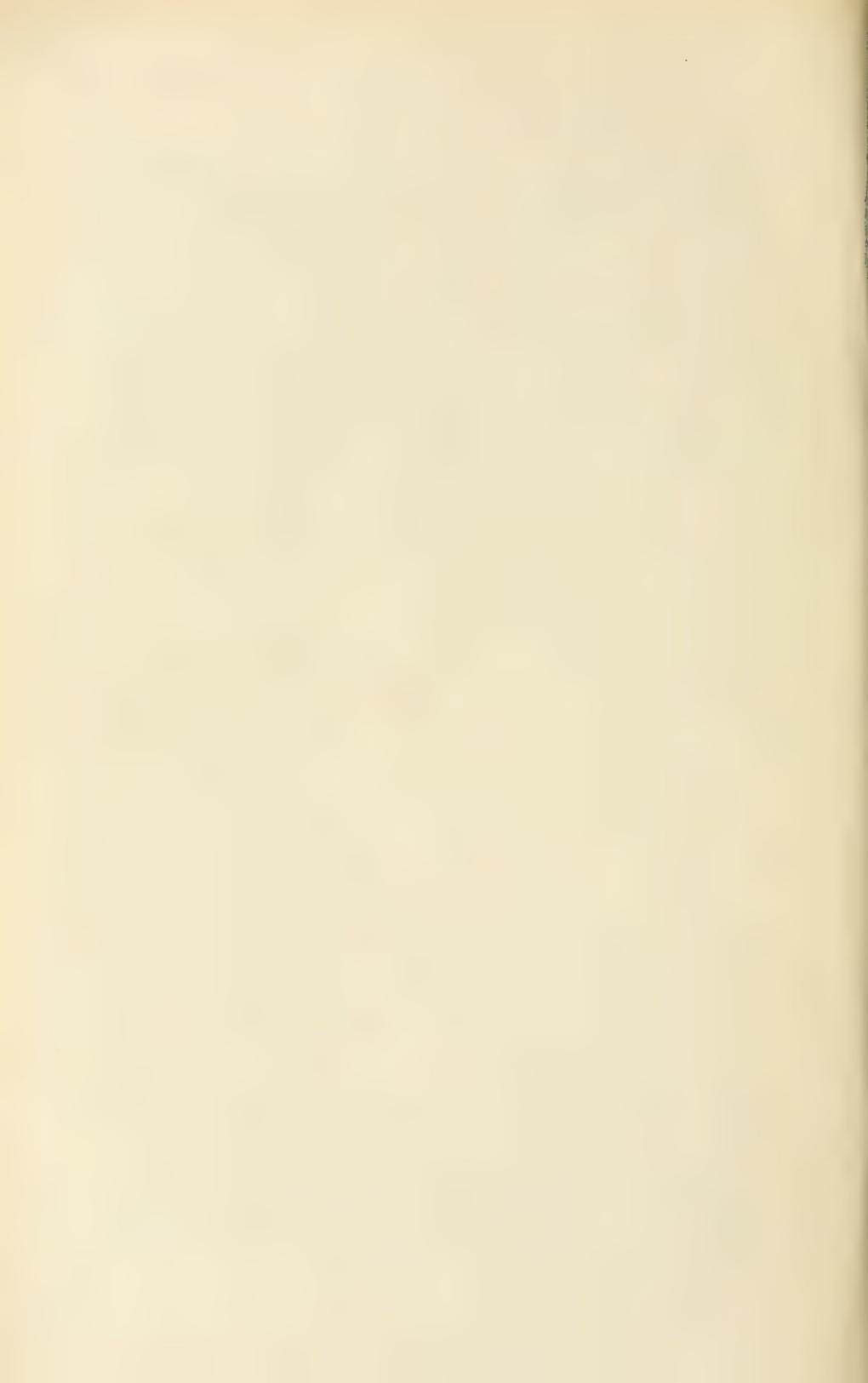
But whatever organization is perfected, one of the first steps after such organization is to make certain historical surveys. There should be in the first place, antecedent to all other publishing activities, a comprehensive bibliography of printed matter with special reference to the sources. This is an absolute necessity if any program of publication is to be undertaken. Such a survey will suggest at once the gaps in the documentary collections, which can thus be filled in. In the next place, a survey should be undertaken of all the manuscript collections, whether in the state or outside of it, that have to do with the history of the state—a survey that should receive early publication. These two steps seem to be absolute prerequisites for any other work. There should also follow very shortly a bibliography of newspapers in the state from the earliest period, including present location, condition, etc.

After the completion and publication of these various surveys there should follow the publication of sources. A comprehensive plan should be devised which will insure a logical and symmetrical system of state publications. It is decidedly inadvisable to publish indiscriminately. A series of historical collections should be planned so as to cover every epoch and every possible topic. For example there should be a bibliographical series, some volumes of which I have already indicated; there should be a territorial series, so projected as to comprise all the sources relating to the territorial period; there might be an executive series which would include documents emanating from the governor's office, and so on. This plan will allow of indefinite expansion and should in time open up some of the more important of the archival material as well as papers drawn from unofficial sources.

But no work of this sort should be undertaken without the services of an expert editor. Whether he should be a member of this commission or not is not important. The actual work of publication should be under his supervision, just as the care of the archives will have to be placed in the care of a professional archivist. The pitfalls are numerous at best. Even one skilled in the method of historical editing, as conceived by the latest school, cannot avoid them all. So that it would be eminently wasteful to entrust this special work to the unskilled. Our shelves are filled with collections of historical societies edited by

antiquarians which are so inadequately done that they are practically worthless and in the opinion of all historical scholars must be redone. Moreover the editorial work, if done on a comprehensive scale, will necessitate the work of many minds. No one editor, however skilled, can produce all the volumes.

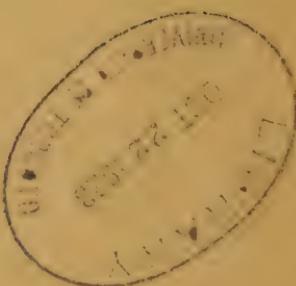
Further comment is unnecessary. I have suggested the pressing need for adequate means to conserve the records of the progress of society in the states of the union. I have pointed out that with a few exceptions considerable progress has been made towards the achievement of this end and that there is reasonable ground for the hope that in such states there will be no backward step. In states where nothing has been done it behooves those charged with the responsibility of government to take the necessary steps to rescue from oblivion the records of their past achievements and failures.



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*Issued in January, March,
May, and November*

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SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE NEAR EAST*

By HENRY R. SPENCER

Ohio State University

By the "Near East" I mean the northeastern shores of the Mediterranean, especially the Balkan and Anatolian Peninsulas and the Straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles that bind them together, that unrivalled situation of Constantinople which gave it milleniums of history (under the name of Byzantium, Constantinople, and Stamboul) and made its possession, in Napoleon's phrase, "worth half an empire."

By "self-determination" I mean government with the consent of the governed, a distant enough ideal toward which we are striving. Essentially, it is autonomy, but it does not require external sovereignty or independence, and the mere mention of Canada on the one hand and Portugal or Mexico on the other may remind us of the non-necessity of nominal independence to real autonomy, to say nothing of the more elementary vital necessities of orderly government to secure law and order, protection of life, liberty, and security of contract, and a modicum of mutual toleration.

Absolute "self-determination" (regardless of others) is out of date. A recent war fought on our part for international law would assure us of this, and even more, the present situation of Europe in reconstruction, painfully conscious, every part of it, that without postal and telegraphic unions, Reparations Commissions, Interallied Relief, the Red Cross, Danube and Danzig High Commissions, etc., etc., the civilized world could not live.

In contrast with the ideal of self-determination is the ideal of Empire: the rule of one people by another. This wonderful decade has seen the breakup of its three principal representatives (I naturally omit the self-governing Commonwealth of British Nations and the essentially national state of Germany before the war, imperially governed, but that imperialism almost entirely a matter internal to the nation concerned). The good old rule of *divide et impera* has suffered a serious check, as applied by Hapsburg, Romanoff, and Ottoman. In place of a Vienna-ruled congeries of subjects we see national states, more or less satisfactorily self-governing: Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia. In place of the Dominions of the Tsar of all the Russias we see a Soviet Republic of Russia, a Polish Republic, Baltic Republics of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and something like independent self-government in Ukraine, White Russia,

* Read at the Luncheon Conference of the Ohio History Teachers' Association, Saturday, November 25, 1922.

in the Armenian Erivan, in Georgia and Azerbaijan, and in the Far East. In place of the Turkish Empire of the Ottoman family, we see a Turkish National State in Angora, in Asia-Minor, a series of Arabian states in Hedjaz, Trans-Jordania, and Irak, and the beginning of a Jewish Community in Palestine, all of which, however dependent they may be upon outside powers and however anarchic they may be, considered as a whole, are, at least, *not* dependent upon the Ottoman dynasty and army.

This is but the climax in our own day of a process which, throughout the Nineteenth Century, has seen the setting up of nationalistic states, step by step, in Serbia, Greece, Roumania, and Bulgaria. An inspiring tale—but not so inspiring has been the tale of nationalistic civil strivings and bloody jealousies in Macedonia, Thrace, the islands of the Aegean Sea, and Armenia: theaters of noble action turned into slaughter houses by great powers and their shameless intrigue, or, at best, their ignorant bungling. And the end is not yet.

To plunge *in medias res*, you, as history students, being familiar with the somewhat complicated background, I, as a student of politics, may invite your attention to that topic in international politics with which our daily papers have been so much occupied, viz., Smyrna and the Lausanne Conference.

The city of Smyrna is of prehistoric origin and was only *re-built* by the late Alexander the Great. Before the recent war there were some 165,000 Turks, 155,000 Greeks, and some 80,000 others, the nationalities living separate lives, antagonistic, with no social consciousness of the city as a whole. It has long been the chief commercial center ("the eye") of Anatolia, marked out to be its capital. It is the outlet of most of Asia Minor products, far more necessary to the life of the peninsula than is the Port of New York to the United States, and it would be ruined if separated from the Continental hinterland, and attached to Greece.

The tragedy begins in May, 1919, when on the invitation of the "Big Three" of Paris, Italy being significantly absent on the business of Fiume, Greece was "invited" to occupy the city. This was against the advice of the American experts. The Turks had been assured that it would be an *allied* occupation, not Greek, and to make bad matters worse, the region was declared to be subject to Greek administration, not even called what was at that time the hopeful term, "mandate". There was to be a plebiscite in 1925 to admit of joining Greece. A Greek of Smyrna has said that this was the tombstone over the reputation of Venizelos. In the process of occupation some six or eight hundred Turks in and about the city were killed and within two or three weeks some two thousand Turks in the region, of all ages and both sexes, perished. This may be said to have sacrificed Greece's claim to rule as a cultured minority. The episode had an immediate effect on Turkey's attitude to the peace Europe was in the process of making. The Turks refused to surrender arms. Musta-

pha Kemal appealed to his army officers not to demobilize, to the peasants to retain arms in their hands and resist somehow to the bitter end.

The treaty of peace with Turkey, called the Treaty of Sevres, was not drafted until August, 1920. The delay was very significant upon its own enforceability. It was produced as a natural result by (an old story) "the quarrels of the heirs of the sick man." It was conditioned absolutely by the secret treaties of 1915-17 in which England, France, Italy, Greece, and Russia promised each other the spoils when Turkish sovereignty should be eliminated and when empires might share in the exclusive economic exploitation of Turkish territory. By the Sevres Treaty boundaries were drawn to exclude, roughly speaking, all but the peninsula of Anatolia; no indemnity was to be demanded but the old Ottoman debt was declared valid, with the council to administer it, composed now of the three great powers, England, France, and Italy. That Council retained a very far-reaching power to control international administration. The Turkish army was to be limited to 50,000 men, of whom 35,000 were called gendarmes, for international police; the forts in the region of the Straits were to be demolished within three months. No fortresses were to be left under complete Turkish control. One flag might fly over an outer fort of Smyrna, as a symbol only, for actual temporal sovereignty had ended. A financial commission was created to study the conservation of resources; further, an inter-allied commission to control military matters; outside control was even to extend to the reorganization of the electoral system, proportional representation of the minority races and even the approval of the national budget and currency systems. Freedom of transit was guaranteed in eight principal ports of Turkey to all members of the League of Nations.

Concessions of economic value granted prior to 1914 were confirmed: a matter of especial importance to France. The Regime of Capitulations was continued. In Anatolia a judicial reform plan was to be drafted by the allies and, until such has been accomplished, jurisdiction was given in the neutralized area even over Turkish nationals to the courts of the Allied Powers.

This Treaty, though never ratified, except by Turkey herself under duress, was the system in the background of men's minds, for which and against which Greece and Turkey have kept up a nearly continuous war for three years. The responsibility is evidently shared between Venizelos, who began it, and Constantine, who continued it. In behalf of Greece the Powers of Europe have themselves a heavy responsibility to bear in their attitude of vacillating sympathy, which has made the contest one between Britain, acting through Greece, and her so-called allies France and Italy, who have been, until just now, wishing for a Turkish check to Greece. Perhaps the events of the past two months have brought them an undesired extreme of the gratification of their wish. We are not concerned at this time to attend

to the ups and downs of that contest, or its causes as far as Greece is concerned.

The Greek debacle of September, 1922, cannot be ascribed principally to the aid that Turkey received from France and Italy. Greece herself had plenty of aid, diplomatic and otherwise, from Britain. The disaster seems rather to be due to Greek loss of morale, and Europe's indifference to her fate. Her retreat was attended by demoralization, humiliation, panic, and so far as the evidence yet shows, the blame of the hideous Smyrna disaster must be laid in considerable measure at her door. In any case, this brings us to the Lausanne Conference of November 20, 1922, which must patch together, if it can, that shattered bit of Sevres porcelain.

Let us first, however, consider particularly the situation of the chief actor in the piece, whether villain or mere interesting case of psychiatric analysis: Turkey. Our difficulty is to separate the ideas of Turkish people and imperialistic Turkey. Let us "be just to those to whom we do not wish to be just." Gladstone's phrases, the Terrible Turk, the unspeakable Turk, Abdul the Damned, the Red Sultan, all have reference to the regime of Abdul Hamid, sultan from 1876 to 1909, whose Hamidian regime Gladstone would throw out of Europe, bag and baggage, and from whose extinction so magnanimous a man as Lord Bryce thought that even the Mussulmans would gain, gain even more than the Christians. The regime was based upon espionage and assassination and notoriously wholesale systematic murder of Armenians.

For the Turk, as a ruling class, the name Turk had no national racial significance. They were Constantinople grafters, a numerous garrison of spoils-men, Greeks, Albanians, Armenians, as well as Turks, all trusted instruments of the Sultan, all personally on the make with no more real connection with the national life than had their Turkish master.

On the contrary, the Turks, as a people, seem to most who really know them, likable, hospitable, honest, loyal, obedient to authority. There is apparently very little Tartar Asiatic blood among them. The Anatolians are the result of many, many centuries of mixture and dilution of the original Asiatic strain with the flood of Christian and what we now call European bloods introduced by the unique methods of the harem and janissary systems. Fair hair and blue eyes are frequent among them, perhaps to our surprise.

In the words of Professor Westermann: "It is the consensus of opinion of American missionaries, who know him through and through, of American, British, and French archaeologists who have worked for years beside and with him, of British merchants who have traded with him, of British soldiers who fought against him, that the Anatolian Turk is as honest as any other people of the Near East; that he is a hard-working farmer, a brave and generous fighter, endowed fundamentally, with chivalrous instincts. That these characteristics and

instincts have been distorted by the brutalizing effects of Ottoman rule is evident, just as Ottoman rule once brutalized the Balkan peoples, and continues to brutalize the Armenians. Of all these peoples the Anatolian peasants have suffered most."

The problem of *cruelty* is not easy. Undoubtedly, the Government and Church have been largely responsible, playing upon the credulous simplicity and superstition of the people and driving them to pillage and arson; but be it remembered this is a game that Greeks and Bulgars have played against each other, too, and even deportation, as a Turkish method of dealing with Armenian problems, is not a Moslem or Turkish monopoly, as we remember the doings of Germany in Belgium and northern France; and with regard to the slaughter of the past three years we may well remember that the Russian invasion of the Caucasus region meant the loss of some half million speakers of the Turkish language, largely non-combatants.

The old Turkish system of government combined two elements: a military autocracy, like that of the Normans of eleventh-century England, and Mussulman theocracy. The Turk has always been contemptuous as a conqueror of his fellow-Moslems, Arabs, Kurds, and Albanians.

As a Moslem, however, he chiefly saves his contempt for the infidels, and his system depressed them to a legal rightlessness. The Christians were naturally to be exploited like the fields. There was no duty of fidelity with infidels; there was no equality before the law. It is a Balkan proverb that grass never grows where the Turkish hoof has trod. In Mr. Morgenthau's savage words: "The Turks have no training save in bearing arms, no science save the science of war, no art save its lethal art. They are mere marauders." The degradation of woman is a hideous well-known blot on the Moslem social system. That fatalistic system which displayed such splendid battle-field courage deadened initiative and was an insuperable obstacle to thrift or enterprise. By the will of Allah, "Whatever is, is." Religion itself, therefore, sanctions inertia and resistance against progress.

The tax-farming system, practiced even to this day, subjects thrift to extortion, tempts to official corruption, and deprives all of an efficient motive to production.

Regarding the massacres, the vengeful loot motive, in all fairness, must not be left out of account. Greek sharp traders and Armenian usurers were regarded fair game for the socially superior but economically helpless Tartar, who on sufficient religious provocation, combined with poverty-stricken peasants in pogroms to redistribute more equitably the social product.

As administrators of subject peoples the old Turk was singularly unsuccessful. Our ambassador, Mr. Strauss, held without qualification that the Turks have *no* ability to govern; that their effort to govern has been uniformly a failure and a tragedy. Reform apparently could come only by complete separation from the Turk.

The Constitution, so called, of 1876 was abortive. Almost confessedly, it was a mere pretext for postponing the intervention of the Powers and the setting up of independent Christian states and hardly had the Conference of 1876 adjourned when it was "pigeon-holed."

The "Young Turks" as a party and governing group, the Committee of Union and Progress, are a historical puzzle, difficult but fascinating. Revolutionary refugees in Paris swallowed whole the half-baked ideas of western civilization and failed to digest them. Returning to Saloniki and finally to Constantinople in 1908 they upset the old Turkish regime, and seized power. All Europe looked on with sympathy as it read their manifestoes in behalf of national and religious equality, western administrative methods, and a liberal Ottoman State. Unfortunately, this set of ideas seems to have made no impression upon the vast bulk of the Turkish people and the few leaders shortly turned their liberalism to chauvinism; not progress but union for imperialism became their main purpose. The despotism of the three Young Turk leaders, Enver, Talaat, and Djemal was finally recognized to be such as surpassed even Abdul Hamid in power for evil. Perhaps the outstanding feature of their policy was what we may call by the barbarous name of "Turkification." It meant the suppression of all that was not Turk: language, loyalty, religion, a suicidal policy of killing the goose that lays golden eggs, considering how necessary to their imperial success was the securing of support from non-Turk Christian producers and non-Turk Moslem fighters.

The climax of this Young Turk development was the participation of Turkey as an ally of Germany in the Great War and the well-known massacres that followed, of Armenians, Lebanese, and Arabs.

This brings us back again to the results of the occupation of Smyrna in 1919. Mustapha Kemal, successful in the defence of Gallipoli in 1915, and in his personal character an attractive military officer, gathered about himself what is now known as the Turkish Nationalistic movement. The nucleus would seem to be to some extent a continuation of the Young Turk regime, binding together under Kemal's lead officers of the army, war profiteers, and, to an uncertain degree, the peasants of Anatolia.

A grand national Assembly was constituted which now sits at Angora. It is supposed to be elected by universal suffrage, to exercise complete legislative, constituent, and executive powers, controlling even treaty-making, as, for example, at the Mudania Conference of Generals, a fortnight or so ago. This Government declared itself independent on the 28th of January, 1920, in the so-called "National Pact," ignoring the Sultan and Constantinople machinery, then under the thumb of the allied forces. It declared for national self-determination to the last degree, the union in a Turkish national state of all lands occupied by Ottoman Moslem majority; for freedom from restrictions on economic development; for abolition of the exterr-

toriality regime of the foreign consular courts, and for freedom of the straits to the commerce of the world. It was to be a real Turkish state, a living ideal of Turkey for the Turks: the Turk his own master in Anatolia. The question remains whether there is among them the requisite leadership or capacity in statesmanship. There is little evidence of it as yet and, in the past, the carrying on of the Turkish state has always been dependent largely on the administrative capacity of Christians.

The policy of the Turkish Nationalists has been indicated in large outline; but some implications that have later been developed require mention. The rounding out of Turkish national territory to the East, spelled annihilation of the hopes of the Armenian and the result has been massacre and deportation on a grand scale. Rebels the Armenians undoubtedly were against the Turkish Nationalist movement. The Treaty of Sevres declared them independent under the aegis of Europe, but their boundary was left to be drawn later and their defenses Europe left without provision. Even France found in Cilicia that she had too much on her hands and withdrew in 1920. Italy likewise from Adalia. Each state on withdrawing made for itself advantageous terms in economic concessions.

The Turkification policy of the Young Turks was continued by the Turkish Nationalists with reference to the church; the Greek church has been deprived of its language privileges and the autonomy enjoyed hitherto, and practically made an instrument of the State. The Sultanate in Constantinople was left in nominal existence and dignity until the Lausanne Conference brought the possibility of serious divergence of view and action, whereupon Angora abolished Constantinople by decree November 2, 1922. The Sultan's ignominious flight to Malta, under British protection ends his relation to the Turkish National State.

The *Califate* is an institution which had been used to arouse and win the loyalty of non-Turk Moslems especially in India, especially to bring pressure upon Britain in Turkey's behalf in the last two years. The Calif is theoretically the successor of the prophet, Mohammed, and should be the protector of the Holy Cities of Mecca, Medina, and the head of the most powerful Moslem state. Evidently, however, these attributes have not in recent years been joined in one person and, indeed, the so-called democratic revolution in Turkey required as a theoretical conclusion the complete separation of church and state. The result is the recent declaration by Angora that a successor to the *Califate* should be chosen by the National Assembly in its own judgment. No longer burdened or endowed with temporal rule, rather regarded as an ideal, a concept, or (as an outsider is likely to say) a fetish, a fiction, the probabilities of a Holy War are thereby rendered extremely slight. The unity of Islam has long been conspicuously wanting. The Holy places are in possession of the Arab State of the Shereffian family of Hussein of the Hedjaz and, as for the loyal

Moslems in India, the ground has been taken from under their feet. It is not England but Nationalistic Turkey that has just insulted Islam, by the deposition of the Sultan, and the semipopular election of a calif.

The imperialism of the Young Turk is continued in the Turanism of the Kemalists, that is to say, their effort, in alliance with Bolshevik Moscow (though anything but communist or internationalist or proletarian in purpose) to join Tartars and Asiatics of Turkestan in one vast Turanian community of some 25,000,000 whose chief significance to the outside world is in the fact that they surround and intend evidently to destroy Armenia.

The Ottoman debt is in a precarious situation. Before the war amounting to \$825,000,000, German loans during the war brought it to two and a quarter billions. The revenues which had been used for its support are now claimed by the Angora Government in the interest of financial self-determination. France, with 65 percent and Britain, with 25 percent of the old debt, have strong motives to object and to maintain in its integrity the old international administration, though that were the very negation of financial self-determination.

One of the chief points upon which the Kemalists insist is the abolition of the *capitulations*. In view, however, of the utter insufficiency of the Ottoman legislation, for the requirements of advanced civilization, its magistracy system beneath contempt, its judges ignorant and corrupt; in view, also, of the effort of the Angora Government to require the Turkish language in all business records, accounts, correspondence, and Turkish personnel for business affairs of foreign corporations, we may well expect an utter and immediate and conclusive repudiation of this demand by the Powers at Lausanne. Even France had already given sufficient evidence of such an attitude, and England *a fortiori*.

The immediate evacuation of Constantinople by the Allied Forces, or, rather the demand for it, has occupied the daily papers the last week. The Kemalists would come to Lausanne with as many accomplishments of force as possible, thereby undermining Western European prestige. Hence the fear that the Kemalist commander would take the law into his own hands, oust the handful of Westerners, and stand forth defiant in military possession of Constantinople, free from conditions, ready to negotiate on that basis. By the last accounts however the coup d'état has been withheld, and this demand, also, will meet with utter refusal. Indeed, this seems one evidence of the want of statesmanship at Angora. The preposterousness of the Kemalists' demands is surely uniting their enemies, in sharp contrast with the perennial success of the cunning old Abdul Hamid, who with supple subtlety following the line of least resistance practically lived on his enemies' disputes.

There remain for brief mention three main points with which the disputants are concerned at Lausanne, all touching the limitation of Turkish "self-determination."

The protection of minorities, so far as that is not already provided for by the Capitulations. Minorities in savage times were treated simply: they were eliminated. Minorities in America we propose, not savagely to eliminate, but to assimilate, benevolently but compulsorily. But in complex Europe other measures are required, especially since the Prussian methods in Poland and the Magyar methods among the Jugoslavs have been held up for our execration. Upon the smaller states which were granted at Paris considerable enhancement of population, of race, and religion other than that of the majority, certain restrictions were laid. For one thing, special guaranty was made to such minorities of their life and liberty and even their right to retain the old nationality by emigration. Persons born in the territory were to acquire its citizenship automatically after the manner of our Fourteenth Amendment, to avoid continuance of the scandalous mistreatment of Jews by Roumania. Even school instruction was to be granted in languages other than that of the nation concerned, with a proportionate division of funds and responsibility of management. This idea, conceived as the American Plan at Paris, was imposed upon Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania, Hungary, Turkey, and Greece. It may be observed, however, that internationalism is the very essence of this policy. It is an international interest served at the expense of the national interest. It is the very negation of the policy universally pursued by new states, that is, to assimilate foreign elements by education and conversion. The maintenance of such a policy is difficult but undoubtedly possible, as has been proved, for example, in Switzerland. It calls for a high degree of the spirit of toleration. The sanction of this guarantee is the League of Nations. These guarantees may not be changed without act of the Council. The Court has jurisdiction of complaints. It remains to be seen how efficacious the sanction will be. The experience with such requirements laid upon Balkan states by their protectors in 1878 at Berlin, is not encouraging. But it may be agreed that Turkey has no just ground for complaint in having such a restriction laid upon her in the interest of European peace, upon her in company with practically all her neighbors.

A second matter of dispute at Lausanne is Thrace: statistics as to its population are hopelessly contradictory and bewildering. There is a hopeless mixture of population elements; of that we may be sure. Especially in Eastern Thrace where Greeks predominate in the towns, but Turk and Bulgarian villages are scattered here and there, there has been much expulsion and counter-expulsion during the past decade and, indeed, the European papers for the past month have been full of the exodus of the Greeks, tumultuous and panicky though under the

escort of British, French, and Italian troops, in their fear of Turkish revenge for the atrocities their co-nationals suffered in Anatolia.

The Angora government claims there, and apparently has been promised, an unquestioned possession of Eastern Thrace to the Maritza and including the Turkish shrine of Adrianople which, indeed, would obviously be a necessity strategically for the protection of a Turkish Constantinople.

Western Thrace, on the other hand, is a more doubtful region, of far less value, in which Angora proposes to settle the question by plebiscite. They probably trust to the Bulgars in that region to vote Turkish because of their being, for the most part, Moslems, the so-called Bulgarian Pomaks. Though Bulgarian, Thrace has undergone kaleidoscopic changes during the past decade. From Turkish in 1912 it became Bulgarian-Greek, and then Turkish again. In 1920 at Sevres it was assigned to Greece.

An even better case, however, can be made for Bulgaria who desperately needs such an outlet to the Aegean Sea and would stand as a useful buffer between Turkey and Greece. The suggestion has been made that Thrace be an autonomous province like Danzig, governed by the League of Nations.

In this case Bulgaria would undoubtedly look forward to a later absorption, as she gathered in the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia in 1885. It may be said that if Thrace is assigned to Turkey, as seems most likely, there is a good chance of the Bulgarian and Grecian claim being met with sympathy by her neighbors of the Balkans and Central Europe, the so-called "Little Entente," which is a well-known protégé and friend of France. That question, however, we cannot follow here.

The one remaining and most difficult dispute of all is that of Constantinople, essentially a cosmopolitan city like Shanghai, with no nationality of its own. The Turk element is undoubtedly in a great plurality over all others, but if this ever ceased to be the Ottoman capital the chances are that the Turks would sink to be a colony like that of the Greeks, the Armenians, the Jews, or Franks; i. e., Westerners.

The value of this position is proverbial. Here cross the main trunk lines of communication by railway on one hand, between Western Europe and the Persian Gulf and India, and the sea route connecting with the outside world the Danubian countries, South Germany, Austria, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, South Russia, the Caucasus Republics, and the most valuable of the provinces of Turkey. On two occasions Britain regarded it as for India's sake priceless, in 1856 (the Crimean War) and in 1878, when Russia had all but conquered a dominating position in the Peninsula. In 1915 it occasioned the Gallipoli Campaign, separating, as it did, the Entente Powers and thereby prolonging the war a year or two, perhaps, as well as producing the Russian revolution. In the hands of a weak owner it

is possible that its care would be handed over in war to an ally. If the owner be no longer decrepit it is to him a priceless asset, a means of blackmailing civilization. Turning to *claims*, possession is at least several points of the law. This claim points to Turkey who has held it since 1453. Possibly the best historical claimant is Greece (with her "big idea" of Byzantine imperial restoration), with her long Greek rule (under Turkish sovereignty) from the phanariot quarter of Constantinople, and with her orthodox church pope or patriarch; but in this day we are properly distrustful of historical claims, so obviously contradictory and mutually destructive. The best claimant from the standpoint of economic necessity is Russia. But if that claim be at the expense of her neighbors' economic necessity, it is intolerable. Indeed, such a priceless means of communication is charged with a public (an international) interest, which any and every holder will ignore at his peril.

It was almost universally expected in 1919 that Constantinople and the Straits were forever rid of the Turk. Now it seems to be universally admitted that the Turks are to be re-established there and the only question is under what degree of limitation upon their self-determination? Several views may be distinguished: The Turk asks (in fact rather brusquely demands) that there be absolute exclusion of war vessels; that Constantinople be fortified by land and sea, since, if the Straits were open, Constantinople herself would be subject to bombardment. They claim that the defense of Thrace requires a considerable military force to protect against a Grecian invasion or even a conceivable revival of the Balkan League such as that of 1912. The policing of Constantinople, furthermore, is especially difficult, considering the city's racial composition; and hence it requires a specially large almost military force. All this military demand is as important in Turkey's nationalistic eyes as France's requirements regarding the Rhine as her barrier against Germany.

The British attitude, on the other hand, is that, at all hazards, the catastrophe of 1915 must never be repeated. Upon this point Gibbon's opinion is that she would fight, although utterly war-weary on all other matters. She maintains that the Straits should be open to all vessels of commerce and war at all times, in peace and in war (i. e., the treaty system of Suez); that there should be no fortification of the Straits; that an international commission should be in charge, not interfering, to be sure, with the internal administration of nationalist Turkey, but adequate to prevent the closing of the Straits. In time of war an assembly of diplomats should forbid any one state's selfish ambition, even that of Turkey.

Against the British attitude appears the attitude of France and Italy. We must not think of them as Turkish backers pure and simple, but realize that their interest in the Straits is different from that of Britain and especially that Italian ambition is utterly opposed to that of Greece in the whole Levant. It is even true that

France was willing to let the Turks have Constantinople in their possession *before* the Conference at Lausanne and was only prevented by Bonar Law's veiled threat in that case to abandon France on the Rhine. Yet as the Conference proceeds they are continually realizing community of need, and of policy, in fundamental matters.

France and Italy hold that Britain's policy of freedom of the Straits is like her policy of freedom of the seas, viz., *control* of Constantinople and the Straits, as of the sea, by a preponderant naval power. It may be remembered that at the Washington Conference a naval ratio was fixed in which Britain and the United States stand each at 5 and France and Italy stand each at 1.75. Can we criticize their opposition as long as we maintain, along with Britain, that potential superiority, which in time of war could be turned into a deadly grapple upon this vital spot? Can we criticize their attitude while the Suez and Panama Canals are neutralized by treaty, still are fortified and not available to our enemies in time of war. They are not internationally administered; nor is the sea. Hence, France's and Italy's complaint that the Straits cannot be internationally administered; if internationally in name then by Britain in fact. Upon this point, to our utter amazement, we find France and Russia approaching a common ground by way of a common opposition to Britain's potential monopoly of the Straits. Russia would associate in control only the riparian states; but considering that this would exclude the state whose capital is invested (France) and the state whose ships and merchants carry the trade, (Britain), such a view is too narrow.

Possibly, instead, we shall have to see associated with nationalistic Turkey in Constantinople an assembly of bickering and intriguing diplomats; a scheme which failed in Tangier; or, somewhat preferably, superintendence by some second-class country, for example, Switzerland or Belgium who would stand obviously as the world's trustee free from suspicion only because of *not* being a Great Power. Possibly again the final solution may be something like that long ago reached upon the Danube of which river Dardanelles and Bosphorus alike are to be regarded as the lower, salt-water reaches, viz., an international commission with its own officials, budget, and even flag.

Before we conclude a word might be said regarding the American relation to this question of Turkey and her "self-determination." Before the war our trade with the Turkish Empire was something like \$100,000,000 a year. The commerce in ideas, however, has been far more significant, the habit of thousands of those immigrants, seasonal and other, carrying back to the Levant ideas and habits from their American life. In education we have played a striking role: Robert College at Constantinople has, for many years, been one of the most famous and precious educational agencies in Eastern Europe. In 1914 there were 627 American schools with 34,000 students—an idealistic investment of American interest of untold extent and beyond price.

Respecting official relations we may be reminded that Ambassadors Strauss and Morgenthau and the special missions of President King and General Harbord (not to speak of Gerard's recent telegram to President Harding) have combined to arouse a sympathetic compassionate interest in the Armenians like that in Belgium eight years ago, only less in degree.

It is a truism that, for good or for evil, the Wilsonian Doctrine of 1917-1918 sowed broadcast in eastern Europe the idea of self-determination, especially among the down-trodden, the weak, and those least capable of self-command. Among the peoples then under Turkey's hand an American mandate was universally desired in 1919; but probably only because America was supposed to be the outstanding conspicuous instance of disinterested, impartial justice. The only question was whether such mandate should extend over Turkey as a whole or to Syria, or to Armenia, or to Constantinople and the Straits.

It is fitting that we be reminded here precisely of Wilson's Twelfth Point of January, 1918: "To the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkey's rule should be assured an undoubted security of life, and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development; and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees."

Compare with this the instructions with which Mr. Hughes sends "observers" to Lausanne. So far as his public speech indicates this instruction covers seven points:

1. The maintenance of the Capitulations to protect non-Moslem interests;
2. The protection of philanthropic, educational, and religious institutions;
3. The protection of freedom of opportunity, for commercial enterprise;
4. Indemnities for American losses by Turkish illegal acts;
5. Protection of minorities;
6. Freedom of the Straits;
7. Opportunity for archeological research.

How far can the observance of these principles be maintained by mere observers? How far, on the other hand, are they really to be taken as mere observations or remarks of a casually interested observer (pious wishes that can be ignored with impunity, or bluff which can be called at need)—that is on the lap of the gods.

In conclusion, it is clear that whether we bear our share in international responsibilities or leave others to bear it in our behalf, self-determination by the Turkish national state both in Anatolia and at the Straits, must be subject to external limitations to an extraordi-

nary degree. Have we arrived at the stage where the competing of imperialisms can be eliminated? Where interference can be more efficacious than mere diplomatic pressure for reform; like that of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, high-minded, but largely in vain?

It is submitted that, however discouraging the outlook during the past three years, concert is the ideal solution and will be the real solution, and that, too, in some form of what has been called "mandates," tragically mis-used though that word has been to cover up rival imperialisms, competitions for exclusive economic exploitations. Let us face the fact: concert is extraordinarily difficult to make effective. The *status quo* is normally the only thing it can deal with, not principles of reform. It spends much of its energy in trying to remain a concert; its effectiveness tends to be only a passive one; it guarantees the *status quo*; each new accomplished fact consummated against the *status quo*, upsetting the *status quo*, is accepted as a new *status quo* to be guaranteed. Hence, the indignant undignified position of the concert when things are changed, when facts are accomplished. Hence, the efforts of every ambitious, progressive member to accomplish facts in defiance or at least in advance of the concert. The worst of it is: action for reform can always be vetoed by the most selfish, the least responsible. Colleagues withdraw to evade responsibility and to secure individual rewards for complaisance. Yet mandates, real mandates, ideal mandates, have been, in some instances, maintained:—trusteeships, both in behalf of the subject people and in behalf of Europe or the world at large. France's relationship to the Lebanon since 1864 is an instance; America's relationship to Cuba and the Philippines since 1898 and, in a considerable measure, we may dare say, England's relationship to Egypt and to the Indian native states.

I conclude, as in duty bound, with a mere profession of faith, which I will put in the form of a rhetorical question: "Cannot, shall not the association, or in Mr. Harding's new words, the confraternity of nations really make good on this supreme duty and solve on a collective basis, if not now, eventually, a situation otherwise impossible because of these rival nationalist claims?" There is unquestionably a growing sentiment and will in this direction among men of good world consciousness in all nations. It is, in our American phrase, *up to them, to us.*

Self-determination in the Near East, as well as everywhere else, turns out to be impossible of attainment if the "self" be taken only in a narrow exclusive sense. Only a mutually regardful world community can determine itself and its own fate, adjusting by common and co-operative action the conflicting interests of its parts, using them in a common purpose of peace-keeping and progress.

Not *national* self-determination, then, is our chief need and desire but *international* or *world* self-determination.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION UPON CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND

By RAYMOND H. CAHALL

Kenyon College

Years ago I was drawn from the study of the French Revolution to its effects upon neighboring peoples. I began with Germany and had reached certain conclusions when Professor Gooch pre-empted the field by publishing his scholarly work on the subject. Sometime before the appearance of his book, however, I had published my conclusions as far as the Rhine-lands were concerned in greatly truncated form in the *Nation*. After considering French and German authorities and the testimony of contemporaries I had concluded that the influence of the French Revolution had been exaggerated, and that the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine had clung obstinately to their language, customs, religious forms, business dealings, in fact, general *modus operandi*. France had then more to offer her neighbors than ever before or since, yet for years the cause of the Revolution was so unpopular that native administrators could scarcely be found to govern the five Rhenish departments. With the defeat of Napoleon the French reforms imposed upon the people were swept away with few exceptions and Rhinelanders went back to old ways placidly and contentedly—perhaps never again the same people after twenty-two years of contact with French officials, schoolmasters, officers and merchants, but not changed fundamentally. It is easily explicable how emotional, social, and economic considerations led this conquered people to abandon even salutary changes in their way of life, but I need not linger over such interesting analyses.

Then turning my eyes from the study of conquered Germans, I gazed at a government and a people which throughout those years of struggle remained undefeated. Surely in England, a country which could afford to view French affairs without fear for self, one might look for fairer judgments of French reforms, for a reluctant acceptance, perhaps, of one or two, or at least for an increased disposition to solve domestic problems in a characteristic John Bull way? Especially during the first years of the Revolution I was prepared to find the most diverse elements of English society quite carried away with sympathy. I had learned by perusing the speeches of French leaders that any hostile action by the British government against the French Revolution would be without popular support. This view was gen-

erally adopted in France until the very outbreak of war in 1793, when the report of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs that decided the Convention upon a declaration of war stated: "the war will be only the war of the British minister against us; and we shall not fail to make a solemn appeal to the English nation." . . . "In short, we shall leave it to the English nation to judge between us, and the issue of this contest will lead to consequences which Pitt does not expect." The English government gave color to this view both by its official action and by the attack of the administration papers upon Parliamentary reform societies and Whig opposition alike as French Jacobins and Republicans. The French and English historians, which I read, adopted this official view and impressed me with the sweep of revolutionary ideas across England, and the danger to English institutions of French precedents.

Then, too, I had approached the subject through the medium of a course in English poetry. In the pages of Cowper, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Burns, Blake, and others, I found, indeed, an elevation of spirit, which is perhaps best expressed in the words of Hazlitt, when he wrote in his "Spirit of the Age": "A new world was opening to the astonished sight. Scenes, lovely as hope can paint, dawned on the imagination; visions of unsullied bliss lulled the senses, and hid the darkness of surrounding objects, rising in bright succession and endless gradations, like the steps of that ladder, which was once set upon earth, and whose top reached to heaven. Nothing was too mighty for this begotten hope; and the path which led to human happiness seemed as plain as the pictures in the Pilgrim's Progress leading to Paradise." Looking down upon the scene from Parnassus, it is obvious that I was not inclined to belittle the influence of the French Revolution upon English history, my conclusions concerning the Rhinelands to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is my purpose to indicate in this paper—as far as its length will permit—the tentative conclusions, to which I have arrived after studying the limited number of documents at my disposal and the special studies which have been made in the field. No authoritative treatment of the subject is possible, however, until more extensive research has been made. Two classes of sources have been almost entirely neglected by English historians: i. e., newspapers and all sorts of documents to make vocal the earlier part of the Industrial Revolution. There is a large mass of such material to be sifted, and this I have not done. I have to thank Professor W. T. Laprade of Trinity College, N. C., for excerpts from newspapers and for an introduction to a forthcoming collection of the papers of John Robinson. So much for apologies!

An examination of indigenous conditions and foreign influences is always a difficult task. Even more difficult is it to determine how much weight to give to each in the causation of events. It will be expedient, therefore, to start with the bare outline of the accepted

sequence of events and come to their causes later. The French Revolution met with warm sympathy in certain English circles. A certain number of alleged parliamentary reform societies were revived or sprang up during the years 1789 to 1792. The government professed to believe in the subversive nature of their activities and declared that any reforms conceded would lead to revolution. Meanwhile, the French government was attacked by Austria and Prussia with intent to replace Louis XVI upon an absolute throne. The English government joined these allies in February, 1793. An almost unbroken war of twenty-two years followed. During this time reaction and repression reigned in England, and only later did reform begin and then along entirely different lines from the reforms of the French Revolution. Now as to the question of causation.

The facts just noted suggest four questions, each of which has been answered by the words "very far" or "not far."

They are:

- (1) How far did sympathy for the French Revolution permeate English Society?
- (2) How far were the English reform societies inspired by French Revolutionary ideas?
- (3) How far was the English government sincere in its identification of reformers with Revolutionaries in the French manner?
- (4) How far was the English government in entering the war led by desires to crush the social leveling movement at its heart and to prevent it from spreading to other countries—including England?

As I said before, these mooted questions have aroused the widest diversity of opinion among historians. It is important to understand the significance of their answers. A "very far" in response to the four queries lays upon the French Revolution the major responsibility for the domestic and foreign history of England during the years 1789-1793. It throws upon that movement the odium of fomenting really seditious societies in England, frightening her government into repressive measures at home, and war abroad, and stopping for more than a generation any bettering of English conditions. It charges a movement so fraught with benefits for the vast majority of Frenchmen with responsibility for the most woeful experiences of their island neighbors.

On the other hand, where this is denied, where the answer "not far" is given, English politics is assigned the major responsibility, and Englishmen must bear the odium for the wretchedness of their fellow countrymen.

My conclusions, which will become apparent, as I treat the four questions propounded, coincide more with the latter view, although I base them upon some factors hitherto almost neglected by students of the subject.

The question of how far sympathy for the French Revolution permeated English society is perhaps the hardest to answer. Several considerations lead me to think that sympathy was neither deep nor really widespread. Among the upper classes I descry a habit of mind unable to comprehend the fundamental meaning of the Revolution. In the first place they were unable to think in terms of human rights, because they were so steeped in privilege and in the rights of property, that everything concerning the *status quo* seemed to them just and righteous. Even control of the majority of parliamentary seats was recognized as a legitimate vested interest and Pitt felt no twinge of conscience when he proposed to recover some of these seats to the nation by re-imburasing the owners from the national funds. In fact, Burke argued that all government was an interest vested in the possessors of property. He contended that great lords had an inalienable right to control the alleged representative House of Commons, for, while their agents represented their broad interests in one house, they themselves represented the narrower concerns of the nobility in the other. A glance back over the history of England shows, indeed, a great tenderness for property rights and a corresponding disregard for personal rights. How then could English gentleman sympathize with a movement so largely aimed at vested interests as was the French Revolution? How could they applaud a movement fostering popular rights, when they thought none existed—or at least only aims—bearing, tax-paying, and bread-winning?

The ability to appreciate the French Revolution became more impossible, when it was suggested that England might profit by the French example. Self-interest lent hostility toward changes formerly discussed with a show of tolerance. Rational justification of the *status quo* followed, then the intolerance of war psychology, and the upper class mind became virtually proof to Revolutionary ideas. Of course, there were exceptions, but they were marked men, caricatured and vilified.

A second force that made against a real and wide-spread sympathy for the Revolution among the upper classes was a deep-rooted prejudice against Frenchmen and things French (excepting, of course, fashions which continued right through the war) due to the century of warfare preceding 1789. Poets, reformers, even statesmen, rose above this common prejudice to express appreciation at first, only to fall victims to it later. A few scenes of violence in Paris and the wavering optimists had turned back to prejudices an hundredfold strengthened. The staunchest of them, Samuel Romilly, made his recantation after the September massacres in these words: "One might as well think of establishing a republic of tigers in some forest of Africa as of maintaining a free government among such monsters." How much of the Foxite Whig's sympathy for France was real and how much ascribed to them for political effect will be dealt with later. It is significant that even Fox's private letters share the

common notions of French traits, although filled with the most intelligent appreciation of public events. In government circles the first feeling was one of relief that France would be out of the running for some years, torn as she was with intestinal strife. Pitt dwelt with apparent satisfaction upon her bankrupt condition and treated M. Necker's appeal for 20,000 sacks of grain to save Paris from famine with a cold refusal. The press on both sides of the channel naturally increased the irritation aroused by this action and by an accompanying debate in the House of Commons. Some newspapers suggested that the French king and people were getting what they deserved for helping Americans to freedom. I mention this episode to show that old prejudices were awakening to battle with sympathy many months before Edmund Burke poured out his passionate appeal to English prejudice in the famous "Reflections on the French Revolution."

In the case of the common people different considerations enter into the determination of how far sympathy was extended to the Revolution. There was, of course, the same mental attitude towards property, king, Church, aristocracy, where those of the humbler classes came in contact with their betters. They accepted the upper-class opinion unquestioningly. Paine ridiculed Burke for saying that the people would fight—not for their rights—but for their lack of rights, but Burke was right. From almost every landed proprietor, magistrate, clergyman, actor, politician came the same eulogy of the British Constitution, the same congratulation of the people for their negative share in it, and they actually believed in it, and fought for it, and the more they fought for it the more they believed in it. Of course there were dissentient voices, reformers, malcontents, republicans, but such there had been for generations. I notice them in the Leveller party in Cromwell's time, in the testimony of Samuel Pepys, in the time of Bolingbroke, in the eighties preceding the Revolution, in that iconoclast, Tom Paine; but this thin line of rebels could do little against the teachings of organized society. Furthermore, the people were in no way prepared to penetrate social hypocrisies, had they been so disposed. They had been kept more ignorant than any equally prosperous people in Europe, largely because it was the common belief that education would only unfit the poor for the life that was allotted to them. This ignorance formed one of the chief obstacles to the reception of French Revolutionary ideas. The avenue of reading was open to a much narrower circle than is commonly believed. Illiteracy varied, of course, with the locality and the occupation of the worker. Miners, for instance, were particularly illiterate. In one case not more than ten in two or three hundred could sign their names, much less read. I venture to assert from a study of comparative educational facilities that for one person who could read in England, there were probably two in Ireland, five in Scotland, and eight in Prussia.

Even if more Englishmen could have read, the circulation of news was expensive and difficult. Those were the days before telegraph, telephone, and ubiquitous provincial newspapers had made communication easy. Those were the days of painful travel and excessive post rates, before a network of roads, canals, and railway lines had been spread across England. Is it unlikely then that many Englishmen scarcely knew there was a Revolution until the dragnet of Pitt's war organization drew them into the struggle against it, where patriotic emotions branded all things French—well, as French, and sealed their minds against them. So then we touch upon the war psychology and name its bigotry and intolerance as a most powerful opponent to the spread of French Revolutionary ideas.

Furthermore, the workers were confronted with certain conditions in English agriculture and industry, which shut out partially an interest in foreign affairs. The struggle for existence monopolized their attention. The business of earning a living was more than ever absorbing at the height of the enclosure movement, and the shifting of industrial centers to the coal and iron fields and elsewhere. There were thousands of movements here and there, changes of occupation, use of new machines, crowding in factories, massing in mushroom cities, combats with epidemics, all involving knotty problems, but not the problems of the French Revolution. The so-called Industrial Revolution, then, served as an obsession, an industrial diversion to keep English workers from the political and social criticisms productive of the French Revolution.

I have shown certain forces which I believe prevented Revolutionary influence from permeating far into English society, and I am prepared to consider those forces and others in their relation to the origin and activities of English societies.

In answer to the question of how far English reform societies during the French Revolution were inspired by French Revolutionary ideas, I conclude "not far." Indeed, I find most of the phenomena exhibited by those societies during the Revolution in existence prior to that movement, and all of them lacking that characteristic of revolutionary societies—appeal to physical force. There had been several constant sources of support for societies differing in composition and in method but agreeing in one profession—parliamentary reform by an agitation of public opinion. The first source of support was given by the radical tradition, which revived in the early eighties with the endorsement of Major Cartwright's program of annual parliaments, universal suffrage, the ballot, equal representation, and payment of members, by the electors of Westminster and even by certain Whig leaders like the Duke of Richmond: a second impetus toward reform was given by the Whig party, which by organizing public opinion outside of Parliament and introducing bills within, secured the reforms of 1782. At that time two conventions (1781 and 1782) of delegates from cities and counties, as well as country asso-

ciations, had been employed to bring pressure upon Parliament, and the Society for Promoting Constitutional Information had been organized to arouse public opinion through the newspapers and the scattering of tracts. Their activities continued throughout the attempts at reform of 1782-1787, yet no one charged their conventions with revolutionary intention. The Dissenters formed the third source of support for reform societies, organized as they were in various towns into Societies for the Commemoration of the Revolution of 1688 and active in propagating for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts during the years 1787, 1789, and 1790.

The fourth source of support came from a new portion of the British people—from working classes not hitherto interested in politics. The French Revolution has been credited with inspiring the formation of these societies, but I believe, quite wrongly. In the first place, the founder of these workingmen's societies, Thomas Hardy, drew his inspiration not from French sources but from the writings of the English radical leaders of the eighties; and he probably drew his organization from the machinery of the little journeymen's clubs, which flourished in London. Furthermore, his "Committees of Correspondence" and the convention system planned to give unity to their efforts, had recent English precedents to inspire them.

Nor is it necessary to attribute the spread of the reform movement among the working classes to the French Revolution. There were plenty of local causes to account for it. Students fail to realize the unprecedented dislocation of English society effected even so early by the Industrial Revolution. Already cities of thirty or forty thousand had grown out of villages in a decade or two; some cities had doubled their population, while others nearly disappeared from the map. No less revolutionary changes had occurred in rural England. Few students seem to realize that the most intense period of the enclosure movement was contemporary with the French Revolution. The government itself failed to grasp the magnitude of the problems raised, when twenty times as many Englishmen were dispossessed of their common rights in land, firewood, and pasture as in any previous generation. At first the great bulk of misery and discontent consequent on such conditions went unexpressed except for occasional rick burnings, machine wrecking, bread riots, labor strikes, and petitionings of Parliament. But Parliament was for the most part deaf to such appeals, and so, much as they disliked reformers, workingmen consented to associate with them, in order to secure a reformed parliament, which should grant economic relief.

Various documents of the societies witness to their great faith in the ability of a truly representative Parliament to remedy conditions. One address states that the lands filched from the peasant would be restored. "The peasant would" it continues, "then feel the benefit of annual parliaments and universal suffrage in bread for his family, bought with the profits of the cow, sheep, or geese, which would again

graze on the commons." To the city worker an honest parliament meant lower rents and prices, better housing conditions, and far lower taxes.

Occasionally there is a hint that attempts to reform Parliament were hopeless and, even if possible, were undesirable. One might construe certain expressions in addresses to the French Assemblies as indicating a desire for a clean sweep—a revolution—but no society ever expressly professed a revolutionary object. One of them did write Hardy to inquire "whether the generality of societies meant to confine themselves to the radical program; or whether it was their private design to rip up Monarchy by the roots, and place Democracy in its stead." But this query came from Norwich, a city which had lain in distress and impotent exasperation under an industrial blight ever since the American war. Poor Norwich! Yet its most radical demand was nothing more than manhood suffrage. Mr. P. A. Brown, the best authority on this subject, finds the other societies, whether Whig, Dissenter, or workingmen, equally innocent of anything more radical. Where various combinations were made and so-called national conventions were held, he finds no evidence to warrant the charge that they designed to supersede Parliament or in any way sought to employ force to overturn the status quo. We may conclude, therefore, that no fundamental imitation of the French Revolution was designed.

The third question I offer likewise presents great difficulties. In considering how far the English government was sincere in identifying reform societies with revolutionary objects, one is met by most contradictory evidence. It resolves itself into two widely differing stories. The first concerns Pitt's cool, dispassionate attitude towards events in France and reform societies in England. He does not appear to fear the Revolution. France, he says, will be more formidable with new energies unloosed, but less obnoxious as a neighbor. His confidence in the loyal endurance of Englishmen he was content to put to the test in 1789 and again in 1790, when he refused to remove the civil disabilities of the Dissenters. He ridiculed Burke's extreme position in regard to the French Revolution and according to that alarmist, "had not the slightest fear of the effect of revolutionary ideas in the kingdom either at present or at any time to come." He listened coldly to Burke's pleas for intervention in France to restore the monarchy. He ignored the formation of workingmen's societies through the winter of 1791. He only came forth in May, 1792, to reprove Whigs in Parliament for forming "The Friends of the People" in conjunction with men whom he asserted wished to overturn the government—meaning Cartwright and other radicals. This shows less judgment unless done for political effect, as this society was but an orthodox Whig organization. He followed it with a proclamation against seditious meetings. Note well this single act of fear, or simulated fear as I think, because he and Grenville admitted at the

time the political soundness of Fox and Grey, and his friends reported that the reform movement was making no headway. Four months later, in September, after the fall of the French monarchy and the September massacres, upon which Pitt made no comment, note this curious testimony of his belief in the integrity of English society, again from the pen of Burke: "I know it is the opinion of his majesty's ministers that the new (French) principles may triumph over every interior and exterior resistance, and may even overturn other states as they have that of France, without any sort of danger of their extending in their consequences to this Kingdom." Evidently Pitt did not fear the spread of the French system to England. Then followed an autumn spent at Holwood and Walmer Castle, Pitt apparently paying no attention to politics but engrossed in the pleasures of a country gentleman. For this period few letters, and they almost silent upon public events, are available. Pitt came back to town with the speech with which he meant to meet Parliament in November. He proposed certain reductions of taxes, apparently believing as ever in economic alleviation to maintain political tranquility. Evidently domestic and foreign affairs were not alarming, because Parliament was put off until January. Pitt's other self, Grenville, wrote the minister at the Hague on November 6th, that non-intervention was on all grounds the best policy for Great Britain. But one thing mars this peaceful narrative. One letter from Holwood survives to strike a false note. Pitt had written to this same minister, Auckland, on October 15th, three weeks earlier, that his preparations for war had already been carried so far that it was necessary to call Parliament at an early date. War! War with whom? Not a word about war had he dropped to his friends. He was to them the man of peace. They were to each other men of peace, for Grenville and Dundas reflected Pitt's views. Then came French victories over Austria, ecstatic vaporings of English societies, opening of the Scheldt, French Decree of November 19th to help oppressed people regain their liberty, refusal of Pitt's government to recognize French Republic, or receive their defacto ambassador—insult, counter-insult. Summons of Parliament to listen to cry of country in danger from riots and insurrection, from designs to destroy the constitution and subvert all order and government! "And this design has evidently been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries," ran the speech from the throne. Must therefore augment army and navy.

Undoubtedly Pitt believed, as he had believed two months earlier, in the stability of English institutions and the indifference of the English people to Jacobin influence, yet twice he had acted as though he believed quite differently. Both times Fox, leader of the opposition, appears to have been utterly dumbfounded. He saw no signs of insurrection, not even any unusual symptoms of discontent. "Nay," said he, "I cannot be so uncandid as to believe, that even the ministers themselves think them true." Pitt wrote to Dundas that the only

specific ground they could offer for calling out the militia in England was the Dundee affair. Sir George Elliot, a Scotch supporter, wrote to his wife that this ground was ridiculous to those who lived in Scotland and knew the truth. The Man of Peace, therefore, appears to have called out the militia with its attendant panic and war spirit for ulterior reasons. The first motive was to increase the panic, into which the aristocratic Whigs had been thrown by alleged sedition, to the point where they would secede from the Opposition—and leave Fox forever ruined, (witness a host of documents); while the other was to take advantage of the rising war spirit, the product of propaganda and foreign events, to embark the nation in a war against France, heralded during the preceding four months in the administration press—a war for commercial and colonial supremacy.

The second tale I am to unfold is not what Pitt believed, but what his government wished the public to believe. It is a story of the slow poisoning of the public mind against legitimate reformers, the reaction of fear at the bugaboos summoned up, and the passionate desire to strike at the Jacobin government which was believed to be undermining English institutions. The means employed were the press, spies, agents provocateurs, political henchmen, and the ordinary agents of organized society, such as the magistrates, the clergy, the gentry, etc.

The process consisted of identifying the friends of reform with revolution, with the desire to subvert the Constitution. The plot was not reasoned out in its entirety but pieced-out as occasion demanded. The hands of Pitt, Grenville, and Dundas appear only now and then, but their activity is apparent through their agents. The story begins in the Spring of 1791 with Burke's disavowal of further relations with Fox because of his admiration for the French Revolution. Burke, then, tried to lead the bulk of the Whig party to support the Tory government. Pitt was not the man to miss this opportunity to divide the opposition and perpetuate his power. He congratulated Burke on his stand and the tone of the Tory press changed from derision to admiration. "Mr. Burke," said the *World*, "has reinstated himself by a noble secession from treason intended against the Constitution of his Country," and at the same time the *World* attacked Fox. This attack upon Fox increased in ruthlessness as the months passed. When the dissenters were maltreated at Birmingham or elsewhere, Fox's alleged traitorous leadership was dragged in. Pitt only showed his hand when he claimed that Fox's friends who had joined the "Society of the Friends of the People" aimed ultimately at the overthrow of the Constitution. He issued a proclamation against seditious writings which the Whigs felt was aimed directly at them. Then for weeks protestations of loyalty and hatred of French ideas deluged the government, in part, at its suggestion. "Our addresses are going on swimmingly, and it will soon be the turn of the loyal county B—to show itself," suggested Lord Grenville to his brother

and good county B sent a loyal address. Two new ministerial papers, the *True Briton* and the *Sun*, were founded by Pitt's agents, and free copies were supplied to sleepy provincial weeklies on condition that marked paragraphs be inserted. The magistrates were instructed to ferret out sedition and they made it their business to find it everywhere. The law courts became busy, men were deposed from their professions or imprisoned for approval of the French Revolution or for publishing the works of Paine or even of Cartwright. It no longer became safe to express an opinion.* Meanwhile in the game of politics a pretence at forming a coalition was made. Fox expressed his willingness to go into office with Pitt but asserted that the latter had no other purpose than to weaken the Whig party and strengthen his own. Negotiations were then carried on to separate the aristocratic Whigs from Fox, but the Duke of Portland was loath to desert Fox, although he thought the seditious state of the country demanded his support for the government.

Once again the state departments were suddenly stirred to action. A number of pamphlets were submitted to the Law Officials for their opinions, and a systematic collection was made of the publications of the London, and of some provincial, reform societies. The Intelligence Department was strengthened. Spies were introduced into the reform societies and an official heresy hunt was soon on foot throughout the country. Government agents started further loyal societies to aid in this movement. It was just at this moment that Pitt decided to call Parliament sooner than he had planned and had to call out the militia as an excuse for the summons. To do this he had to show actual insurrection or imminent danger of invasion. He could show neither but made general statements which increased popular apprehension. Grenville wrote everywhere in search of damning testimony against the reformers. "It might be very useful," he wrote, "in the view of embarking the nation heartily in the support of a war, if unavoidable." Several times he wrote: "The spirit of the country is rising and every effort we make increases it." By December 18th, 1792, Burges wrote to Auckland: "The spirits of our people are higher than you can imagine. There appears to be but one sentiment throughout the country—that of loyalty to the King—affection to the existing constitution—ardour to support it—and an earnest desire to go to war with France."

It is obvious, therefore, that the same propaganda, which produced the heresy hunt of November, produced the war flame of December, which swept the country into a twenty-two years' war. The government of Pitt was responsible for both and for their legacy, the policy

* This quotation from Brown: "In Northamptonshire villages a house-to-house canvass of opinions goes on under the patronage of the landowners. At Bridgewater a solicitor collects oaths of loyalty like taxes. At Cambridge politics are forbidden in public houses and landlords are requested to report the names of all republicans. At Manchester the tavern keepers are warned to close their doors to reform societies. The Marquess of Bath loses £300 for having suggested an excuse for a schoolmaster's pro-French expressions." An so the story goes.

of repression of the following years. Furthermore, the organized panic against reformers succeeded, where negotiations had failed, and stampeded the majority of the Whigs into the ranks of the Tories, leaving the Foxite Whigs objects of public scorn; sometimes heroic, sometimes petty figures, but destined to hand on to future generations reforms which their own had lost.

Lastly, the insincerity and political opportunism which had marked Pitt's conduct since 1783 again appeared in his declaration of war aims. The people had been led to believe that their institutions were threatened by a subversive Jacobinism, which they were prepared to destroy at its heart. The government held out this object to them, and Pitt's war speeches, to keep up the popular illusion, had almost the anti-Jacobin ring of a Burke. Yet Pitt never intended to restore the monarchy in France. He joined the coalition against her, as we now know, on the basis of commercial conquests and of non-interference in the internal affairs of the young Republic.

The real French Revolution affected English history little. Not so the distorted, official version of it, which frightened away beneficent change and riveted abuses on the body politic for half a century to come. To hold the Revolution itself responsible for such ills would be manifestly unfair. In truth, it was more sinned against than sinning as far as it concerned England; and at most served little more than a pretext—a name to conjure with—in the domestic history of the England of 1789 to 1793.

